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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY;

INCLUDING THAT OF

THE POPES

TO

THE PONTIFICATE OF NICOLAS V.

68289

BY HENRY HART MILMAN, D.D.,
DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S.

E.1.9

VOLUME IV.

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1855.

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AND CHARING CROSS.

PREFACE.

I CANNOT offer the concluding volumes of the History of Latin Christianity without expressing my grateful sense of the kind and liberal manner in which the former portion of the work has been generally received. In these volumes I trust that I have not fallen below my constant aim—calm and rigid impartiality; the fearless exposure of the bad, full appreciation of the good, both in the institutions and in the men who have passed before my view. I hope that I may aver without presumption that my sole object is truth—truth uttered in charity; and where truth has appeared to me unattainable from want of sufficient authorities, or from authorities balanced or contradictory, I have avoided the expression of any positive opinion. I am unwilling to claim the authority of history for that for which there is not historical evidence. I would further remind the reader that if the course of affairs during these ages should appear dark, at times almost to repulsiveness, still in the dreariest and most gloomy period of Christian history there was always an undercurrent of humble, Christian goodness flowing on, as the Saviour himself came, "without observation," the light of which we can discern but by faint and transitory glimpses.

Only one book, as far as I know, has appeared since

the publication of the first part of my work, which has further elucidated any of the subjects treated in those volumes—the 'Life of Mohammed,' by Dr. Sprenger. After the perusal of that work, so much more full than any former history on the earlier and more authentic traditions of the Prophet, I have the satisfaction to find that though I might be disposed to add a few sentences, I find nothing in my own more brief and rapid sketch to alter or to retract. Moreover (I write with diffidence), it appears to me that Dr. Sprenger has hardly drawn the line, if it can be drawn, between the Historical and the Legendary in the life of Mohammed. I cannot but think that the Kôran, after all, is the one safe and trustworthy authority for the life, the acts, and the aims, of the founder of Islam.

Some, even of my most friendly critics, have observed certain negligences and inaccuracies of style in the former volumes. Most, I will not venture to say all of these, are to be traced to errors of the press and of punctuation; some few, perhaps, to an injudicious attempt at too close condensation of the multifarious materials. I would respectfully request the reader's attention to the page of additions and corrections. In one point, too, I must solicit his indulgence. During the course of printing I have thought it better to make some alteration in the distribution; I will therefore request that the second part of Book IX. be read as Book X. It is so corrected in the running-title of contents.

CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

[Some of these Errata have been noticed before.]

VOL. I.

In Chronology, p. 13, insert "A.D. 138, Antoninus Pius." p. 17, A.D. 387, for "at" read "ad."

p. 29, add to Note [r], "A Saint Martial de Limoges on chantait en Grec dans le X^me^ siècle, à la messe du jour de la Pentecôte, le Gloria, le Sanctus, l'Agnus Dei: le fait est établi par un MS. de la Bibliothèque Royale, No. 4458. Jourdain, Traductions d'Aristote, p. 44."

p. 52, Note. I ought to have noticed the more than doubtful authenticity of this passage, which is not in the best MSS. or earliest copies of Cyprian. Cyprian's view of St. Peter's position as regards the other apostles was more vague and indistinct.

p. 69, line 9, for "Constantine" read "Constantius."

p. 87, line 21, for "geater" read "greater."

p. 89, for "Valentinian II." read "Valentinian III.:" correct date "A.D. 421."

p. 99, line 9, for "by no means" read "in no way."

p. 122, Note [a], for "Proculus" read "Lazarus."

p. 126, Note, for "toto" read "tota."

p. 207, line 11 from bottom, for "Macrianus" read "Maximus."

p. 222, Chronology, insert "A.D. 530, Boniface II." before Dioscorus Antipope.

p. 224, head of Chapter, for "Monophytism" read "Monophysitism."

p. 229, Note. This kind of asceticism was the admiration of the East to a late period. Eustathius of Thessalonica addressed a Stylites in the 12th century, admonishing the saint against pride, yet asserting this to be the utmost height of religion. Eustathii Opuscula, ed. Tafel. p. 182. For Walfilaïc, the one Stylite of the West at Trèves, see Greg. Tur. viii. c. 15.

p. 251, for "Anastasius I." read "Anastasius II."

p. 255, after "doctrines" dele comma.

p. 263, Note [s], for "folgende" read "folgenden:" for "dem" read "den:" for "81" read "61:" for "Bede, 11-13" read "Bede, ii. 13."

p. 287, for "Rheims" read "Rouen."

p. 315, line 13, East and West "are" at peace.

p. 332, Note, for "Restitutus" read "Reparatus."

p. 339, four lines from bottom, dele "rather."

p. 344, for "545" read "554:" for "546" read "556."

p. 353, line 16, for "having" read "had."

p. 378, line 22, for "arise" read "arises."

p. 379, for "condemmed" read "condemned."

p. 410, line 5 from bottom, for "dangerous" read "perilous."

p. 429, line 9, "Benedict I."

p. 440, line 1, for "region" read "district."

p. 448: the better reading is "Ethelbert and Bertha. There was a letter to each."

p. 449, Note [t], for "cultivators as" read "as cultivators of."

p. 456, Note [q] has been repeated from p. 438.

VOL. II.

p. 60, line 28, for "East Angles" read "East Saxons."
p. 76, line 15, for "Inda" read "Tuda."
p. 100, Dates of S. Columban: in Burgundy about 590; banished by Theod. II. about 606; died 615.
p. 109, Side Date, for "600" read "700."
p. 111, „ for "724" read "721."
p. 112, for "122, 123, 123" read "722, 723, 723."
p. 132, line 7 from bottom, for "Pontus" read "Portus."
p. 189, line 11, for "Euphemta" read "Euphemia."
p. 249-50, for "777, 778" read "767, 768."
p. 331, margin, for "lias" read "lies."
p. 343, line 25, for "left" read "right."
p. 474, for "297" read "972."
p. 485, for "1080" read "1000."

VOL. III.

p. 22, line 11 from bottom, for "in" read "at."
p. 24, line 5, for "desseminated" read "disseminated."
p. 107, line 12, for "reprisals" read "reprisal."
p. 108-109, for sentence "hereditary succession, &c., repeated" read, p. 109, "hereditary succession, we have said, and the degeneracy of the order were inseparable."
p. 135, line 17 from bottom, for "vassals" read "vessels."
p. 149, margin, for "Mentz" read "Worms."
p. 157, margin, for "deposition" read "desertion."
p. 189, Note, for "Wezelin" read "Wezelin."
p. 193, line 8, for "Roger" read "Robert."
p. 200, line 8, after "power" comma for semicolon.
p. 249, line 12, for "discriminate" read "draw the line."
p. 256, line 15, for "to something" read "to a restraint."
p. 283, Note [n], for "Annabe" read "Anche."
p. 301, Note, read "Ursbergensis."
p. 315, line 14, for "bought" read "brought."
p. 333, Running Title, for "youths" read "youth."
p. 350, for "that last retreat" read "those last retreats."
p. 359, line 18, for "rapidly" read "speedily."
p. 377, line 19, dele comma after "apprehension:" note, for "Heloisan" read "Heloisam."
p. 392, 4 lines from bottom, for "his" read "their."
p. 394, Note [c], for "Corbieures" read "Corbienses."
p. 430, 431, clause repeated.
p. 443, line 9, dele "that of."
p. 445, line 4, "future."
p. 447, line 3 from bottom, for "and the Empire" read "but the Empire."
p. 458, Note [s], for "Richard" read "Roger:" for "Walter" read "Geoffrey."
p. 483, 484, sentence inadvertently repeated.
p. 497, for "hope" read "desire."
p. 503, Note [z], for "Peterborough" read "Norwich." Add, "Ridel became Bishop of Ely."
p. 529, line 9 from bottom, after enemies, comma instead of full-stop.
p. 552, Note [r], for "Chenier" read "Cherrier."

VOL. IV.

p. 9, line 1, for "lose" read "veil."
p. 47, Note, for "Philip" read "Otho."
p. 166, line 1, for "of all except" read "besides the."
p. 191, line 10 from bottom, for "Patrarch" read "Petrarch."
p. 214, Note [q], for "Papam" read "Papa."
p. 244, line 10 from bottom, for "neighbouhood" read "neighbourhood."
p. 313, line 5 from bottom, for "even" read "and."
p. 320, line 18, for "his" read "Frederick's."
p. 383, Note [s], for "judicandum" read "judicandam."
p. 420, line 16, for "was" read "were."
p. 466, line 13 from bottom, for "Frederick" read "Innocent."

VOL. V.

p. 27, for "1350" read "1250."
p. 35, line 23, for "invited" read "invented."
p. 51, line 10, after "the mastery" insert "of the Dominicans."
p. 64, line 18, for "the treachery of" read "through treachery."
p. 78, line 21, for "Constantine" read "Conradin."
p. 93, line 3 from bottom, for "tridute" read "tribute."
p. 101, line 24, for "water" read "wine."
p. 122, for "1225" read "1285."
p. 208, line 13, for "stranger" read "stronger."
p. 224, line 5 from bottom, for "Pope" read "King."
p. 274, for "1309" read "1304."
p. 312, Note [a], for "conciliam" read "concilium."
p. 331, Side note, for "excommunications" read "examinations."
p. 350, Head line, for "Nestorians" read "Historians."
p. 387, for "1312" read "1311."
p. 418, Note [b], for "on" read "in."
p. 428, lines 13 and 18, for "Gerald" read "Gerard."
p. 454, last word, for "if" read "it."
p. 528, line 15, for period and capital letter read semicolon and "the."

VOL. VI.

p. 32, line 15, for "Lucca" read "Luna."
p. 509, line 8, for "Southern" read "Northern." The reference in note [a] is to the History of Christianity.
p. 587, line 1, for "in the South" read "in Sicily."

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HISTORY

OF

LATIN CHRISTIANITY.

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1197 Frederick II. 1250	Emeric 1204 1204 Ladislaus 1205 1205 Andrew II. 1235	William 1202 1203 Guy 1206 1207 Alberic	Hubert 1205 1207 Stephen Langton	*Castile.* Alfonso III. 1214 1214 Henry I. 1217 *Arragon.* 1196 Pedro II. 1213 1213 James I.	
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BOOK IX.

PART I.

INNOCENT III.

CHAPTER I.

ROME AND ITALY.

UNDER Innocent III., the Papal power rose to its utmost height. Later Pontiffs, more especially Boniface VIII., were more exorbitant in their pretensions, more violent in their measures; but the full sovereignty of the Popedom had already taken possession of the minds of the Popes themselves, and had been submitted to by great part of Christendom. The thirteenth century is nearly commensurate with this supremacy of the Pope. Innocent III. at its commencement calmly exercised as his right, and handed down strengthened and almost irresistible to his successors, that which, at its close, Boniface asserted with repulsive and ill-timed arrogance, endangered, undermined, and shook to its base. At least from the days of Hildebrand, the mind of Europe had become familiarised with the assertion of those claims, which in their latent significance amounted to an absolute irresponsible autocracy. The essential inherent supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, as of the soul over the body, as of eternity over time, as of Christ over Cæsar, as of God over man, was now an integral part of Christianity. There was a shuddering sense of impiety in all resistance to this ever-present rule; it required either the utmost strength of mind, desperate courage, or desperate recklessness, to confront the fatal and undefined consequences of such resistance. The assertion of these powers by the Church had been, however intermittingly, yet constantly growing,

The Papal autocracy.

and had now fully grown into determinate acts. The Popes had not merely claimed, they had established many precedents of their right to excommunicate sovereigns, and so of virtually releasing subjects from their allegiance to a king under sentence of outlawry; to call sovereigns to account not merely for flagrant outrages on the Church, but for moral delinquencies,* especially those connected with marriage and concubinage; to receive kingdoms by the cession of their sovereigns as feudal fiefs; to grant kingdoms which had no legitimate lord, or of which the lordship was doubtful and contested, or such as were conquered from infidels, barbarians, or heretics: as to the Empire to interfere in the election as judge both in the first and last resort. Ideas obtain authority and dominion, not altogether from their intrinsic truth, but rather from their constant asseveration, especially when they fall in with the natural hopes and fears, the wants and necessities of human nature. The mass of mankind have neither leisure nor ability to examine them; they fatigue, and so compel the world into their acceptance; more particularly if it is the duty, the passion, and the interest of one great associated body to perpetuate them, while it is neither the peculiar function, nor the manifest advantage of any large class or order to refute them. The Pope had, throughout the strife, an organized body of allies in the camp of the enemy; the King or Emperor none, at least none below the nobles, who would not have preferred the triumph of the spiritual power. If these ideas are favoured by ambiguity of language, their progress is more sure, their extirpation from the mind of man infinitely more difficult. The Latin clergy had been busy for many centuries in asserting, under the specious name of their liberty, the supremacy of the Church which was

* Innocent III. lays this down broadly and distinctly: "Cum enim non humanæ constitutioni sed divinæ potius innitamur: quia potestas nostra non ex homine sed ex Deo; nullus qui sit sanæ mentis ignorat, quin ad officium nostrum spectet de quocunque mortali peccato corrigere quemlibet Christianum, et si correctionem contempserit, ipsum per districtionem ecclesiasticam coercere."—Decret. Innocent III., sub ann. 1200, cap. 13, de Judiciis. Eichhorn observes on this: "Womit denn natürlich der Grundsatz selbst, das die Kirche wegen Sündlichkeit der Handlung über jede Civilsache erkennen möge, anerkannt wurde."—Rechts Geschichte, ii. 517.

their own supremacy; for several centuries in asserting the autocracy of the Pope as Head of the Church. This, which was true, at least on the acknowledged principles of the time, in a certain degree, was easily extended to its utmost limits; and when it had become part of the habitual belief, it required some palpable abuse, some startling oppugnancy to the common sense of mankind, to awaken suspicion, to rouse the mind to the consideration of its groundwork, and to decompose the splendid fallacy.

Splendid indeed it was, as harmonising with man's natural sentiment of order. The unity of the vast Christian republic was an imposing conception, which, even now that history has shown its hopeless impossibility, still infatuates lofty minds; its impossibility, since it demands for its Head not merely that infallibility in doctrine so boldly claimed in later times, but absolute impeccability in every one of its possessors; more than impeccability, an all-commanding, indefeasible, unquestionable majesty of virtue, holiness, and wisdom. Without this it is a baseless tyranny, a senseless usurpation. In those days it struck in with the whole feudal system, which was one of strict gradation and subordination; to the hierarchy of Church and State was equally wanting the Crown, the Sovereign Liege Lord.[b]

When this idea was first promulgated in all its naked sternness by Gregory VII., it had come into collision with other ideas rooted with almost equal depth in the mind of man, that especially of the illimitable Cæsarean power, which though transferred to a German Emperor, was still a powerful tradition, and derived great weight from its descent from Charlemagne. But the imperial power, from its elective character; from the strife and intrigue at each successive election; from constant contests for the imperial crown; from the opposition of mighty houses, one or two of which were almost always nearly equal in wealth

[b] A letter of Innocent to the Consuls of Milan declares that it is sacrilege to doubt the decrees of a Pope; that though he is born of sinners, of a sinful race, yet, since he fills the place of him that was without sin, he who despises him despises Christ. The cause of dispute was the excommunication of Passaguerra, against which the Milanese protested as unjust. Compare the Decretalia, ii. and iii., on the superiority of the priesthood to the temporal power.

and influence to the Emperor; from the weaknesses, vices, tyrannies of the Emperors themselves, had been more and more impaired; that of the Pope, notwithstanding transient obscurations, had been silently ascending to still higher estimation. The humiliation of the Emperor was degradation; it brought contempt on the office, scarcely redeemed by the abilities, successes, or even virtues of new Sovereigns; the humiliation of the Pope was a noble suffering in the cause of God and truth, the depression of patient holiness under worldly violence. In every schism the Pope who maintained the loftiest Churchmanship had eventually gained the superiority, the Imperialising Popes had sunk into impotence, obscurity, ignominy.

The Crusades had made the Pope not merely the spiritual, but in some sort the military suzerain of Europe; he had the power of summoning all Christendom to his banner; the raising the cross, the standard of the Pope, was throughout Europe a general and compulsory levy, the herr-ban of all who bore arms, of all who could follow an army. That which was a noble act of devotion had become a duty: not to assume the cross was sin and impiety. The Crusades thus became a kind of forlorn hope upon which all the more dangerous and refractory of the temporal sovereigns might be employed, so as to waste their strength, if not lose their lives, by the accidents of the journey or by the sword of the Mohammedan. If they resisted, the fearful excommunication hung over them, and was ratified by the fears and by the wavering allegiance of their subjects. If they obeyed and returned, as most of them did, with shame and defeat, they returned shorn of their power, lowered in the public estimation, and perhaps still pursued, on account of their ill success, with the inexorable interdict. It was thus by trammelling their adversaries with vows which they could not decline, and from which they could not extricate themselves; by thus consuming their wealth and resources on this wild and remote warfare, that the Popes, who themselves decently eluded, or were prevented by age or alleged occupations from embarkation in these adventurous expeditions, broke and wasted away the power and influence of the Emperors.

Conrad the first Hohenstaufen had betrayed prudent reluctance to march away from distracted Germany to the Holy Land. St. Bernard had sternly demanded how he would answer at the great day of Judgment, the dereliction of this more manifest duty. The trembling Emperor had acknowledged the voice of God, girt on the cross, collected the strength of the Empire, to leave their whitening bones on the plains and in the defiles of Asia Minor; he returned to Europe discomfited and fallen in the estimation of all Christendom. Frederick Barbarossa, the greatest of the Swabian house, had perished in the zenith of his power in a small remote river in Asia Minor. During this century will appear Frederick II., probably in his heart, at least during his riper years, disdaining the enthusiasm with which the dominant feeling of the time forced him to comply, excommunicated for not taking the cross, excommunicated for not setting out to the Holy Land, excommunicated for setting out, excommunicated in the Holy Land, excommunicated for returning after having made an advantageous peace with the Mohammedans. During his whole reign he is vainly struggling to burst the fetters thus wound around him, and riveted not merely by the remorseless hostility of his spiritual antagonists, but by the irresistible sentiment of the age. On this subject there was no assumption, no abuse of Papal authority, which was not ratified by the trembling assent of Christendom. The Crusades, too, had now made the Western world tributary to the Popedom; the vast subventions raised for the Holy Land were to a certain extent at the disposal of the Pope. The taxation of the clergy on his authority could not be refused for such an object; a tenth of all the vast wealth of the hierarchy passed through his hands. An immense financial system grew up; Papal collectors were in every land, Papal bankers in every capital, to transmit these subsidies. The enormous increase of his power from this source may be conjectured; the abuses of that power, the emoluments for dispensation from vows, and other evils, will appear in the course of our history.

But after all, none of these accessory and, in some degree, fortuitous aids could have raised the Papal authority

to its commanding height,[c] had it not possessed more sublime and more lawful claims to the reverence of mankind. It was still an assertion of eternal principles of justice, righteousness, and humanity. However it might trample itself on all justice, sacrifice righteousness to its own interests, plunge Europe in desolating wars, perpetuate strife in states, set sons in arms against their fathers, fathers against sons; it was still proclaiming a higher ultimate end. It was something that there was a tribunal of appeal, before which the lawless kings, the lawless feudal aristocracy trembled, however that tribunal might be proverbial for its venality and corruption, and constantly warped in its judgments by worldly interests. There was a perpetual provocation, as it were, to the Gospel, which gave hope where it did not give succour; which might, and frequently did, offer a refuge against overwhelming tyranny; something, which in itself rebuked rugged force, and inspired some restraint on heinous immorality.

The Papal language, the language of the clergy, was still ostentatiously, profoundly religious; it professed, even if itself did not always respect, even though it tampered with, the awful sense of retribution before an all-knowing, all-righteous God. In his highest pride, the Pope was still the servant of the servants of God; in all his cruelty he boasted of his kindness to the transgressor; every contumacious Emperor was a disobedient son; the excommunication was the voice of a parent, who affected at least reluctance to chastise. Every Pope declared, no doubt he imagined, himself the vicar and representative of Christ, and it was impossible that all the darkness which had gathered around the perfect humanity, the God in man as

[c] It may be well to state the chief points which the Pope claimed as his exclusive prerogative:—

I. General supremacy of jurisdiction; a claim, it is obvious, absolutely illimitable.

II. Right of legislation, including the summoning and presiding in Councils.

III. Judgment in all ecclesiastic causes arduous and difficult. This included the power of judging on contested elections, degrading bishops, a super-metropolitan power.

IV. Right of confirmation of bishops and metropolitans, the gift of the pallium. Hence, by degrees, rights of appointment to devolved sees, reservations, &c.

V. Dispensations.

VI. The foundation of new orders.

VII. Canonisation.

Compare Eichhorn, ii. p. 500.

revealed in the Gospel, could absolutely lose all its exquisite truth, holiness, and love.

If this great idea was ever to be realised of a Christian republic with a Pope at its head—and that a Pope of a high Christian character (in some respects, in all perhaps but one, in tolerance and gentleness almost impossible in his days, and the want of which, far from impairing, confirmed his strength)—none could bring more lofty, more various qualifications for its accomplishment, none could fall on more favourable times than Innocent III. Innocent was an Italian of noble birth, but not of a family inextricably involved in the petty quarrels and interests of the Princedoms of Romagna. He was of the Conti,[d] who derived their name in some remote time from their dignity. His father, Count Trasimondo of Segna (the name Trasimondo was traced to the Lombard Dukes of Spoleto, if truly, it implied Teutonic blood) married Claricia, of the senatorial house of Scotti. He was a Roman, therefore, by the mother's side, probably of a kindred attached to the liberties of the city. Lothair was the youngest of four brothers, born at Anagni. He had high ecclesiastical connexions, both on his father's and his mother's side. John, the famous Cardinal of St. Mark, was his paternal uncle. Paul, the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina, by the title of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, afterwards Pope Clement III., probably his uncle on his mother's side. The Cardinal Octavian, the firmest, ablest, and most intrepid supporter of Alexander III., was of his kindred. All these were of the high anti-Imperialist faction. The early education of Lothair, at Rome, was completed by some years of study at Paris, the great school of theology; and at Bologna, that of law. He returned to Rome with the highest character for erudition and for irreproachable manners; he became a Canon of St. Peter's. The elevation of his uncle, the Cardinal of St. Sergius and St. Bacchus, to the Pontificate as Clement III., paved the way to his rapid rise. He

Innocent III.

Education.

[d] The Conti family boasted of nine Popes,—among them Innocent III., Gregory IX., Alexander IV., Innocent XIII.; of thirteen cardinals, according to Ciacconius.

was elevated in his twenty-ninth year to the Cardinalate under the title vacated by his uncle. Already he was esteemed among the ablest and most judicious counsellors of the supreme Pontiff. The successor of Clement III., Cœlestine III., was of the house of Orsini, between whom and the maternal ancestors of Lothair, the Scotti, to whom Clement III. his patron belonged, was an ancient, unreconciled feud. Cœlestine III.,[e] very much advanced in years, might suspect the nepotism of his predecessor, which had raised his kinsman to such almost unprecedented rank, and had entrusted him with affairs so far beyond his years. During Cœlestine's Popedom, the Cardinal Lothair either withdrew or was silently repelled from the prominent place which he had filled under the Pontificate of Clement. In his retirement he began to despise the ungrateful world, and wrote his treatise on "Contempt of the world and the misery of human life." The stern monastic energy of language throughout this treatise displays in another form the strength of Innocent's character; had he remained in seclusion he might have founded an order more severe than that of Benedict, as active as those which he was destined to sanction, the Dominicans and Franciscans. But he was to show his contempt of the world not by renouncing but by ruling it.[f]

Cardinalate.

Cœlestine on his death-bed had endeavoured to nominate his successor: he had offered to resign the Papacy if the Cardinals would elect John of Colonna. But, even if consistent with right and with usage, the words of dying sovereigns rarely take effect. Of twenty-eight Cardinals,[g] five only were absent; of the rest the unanimous

[e] Cœlestine was of the house of Bobo, a branch of the Orsini.

[f] This work, written in not inelegant Latin, is monastic to its core. It asserts the Augustinian notion of the transmission of original sin with repulsive nakedness. Nothing can be baser or more miserable than human nature thus propagated. I cannot help quoting a strange passage: "Omnes nascimur ejulantes ut nostram miseriam exprimamus. Masculus enim recenter natus dicit A, fœmina 'E, quotquot nascuntur ab Eva.' Quid est igitur Eva nisi heu ha! Utrumque dolentis est interjectio, doloris exprimens magnitudinem."—i. 3. This puerility does not contrast more strongly with the practical wisdom of Innocent, than sentences like this with his haughtiness: "O superba præsumptio, et præsumptuosa superbia! quæ non tantum Angelos Deo voluisti adæquare, sed etiam homines præsumpsisti deificare."—ii. c. 92.

[g] The list in Ciacconius, vol. ii. p. 2. Hurter, i. 73, gives the names of the absentees.

vote fell on the youngest of their body, on the Cardinal Lothair. No irregularity impaired the authority of his election; there was no murmur of opposition or schism: the general suffrage of the clergy and the people of Rome was confirmed by the unhesitating assent of Christendom. The death of the Emperor, the infancy of his son, the state of affairs in Germany, made all secure on the side of the Empire. Lothair was only thirty-seven years old, almost an unprecedented age for a Pope;[h] even a mind like his might tremble at this sudden elevation. He was as yet but in deacon's orders; he had to accumulate those of priest, bishop, and so become Pope. It may be difficult in some cases to dismiss all suspicion of hypocrisy, when men who have steadily held the Papacy before them as the object of their ambition, have affected to decline the tiara, and played off a graceful and yielding resistance. But the strength, as well as the deep religious seriousness of Lothair's character, might make him naturally shrink from the assumption of such a dignity at an age almost without example; and in times if favourable to the aggrandisement of the Papacy, therefore of more awful responsibility. The Cardinals who proclaimed him saluted him by the name of Innocent, in testimony of his blameless life. In his inauguration sermon broke forth the character of the man; the unmeasured assertion of his dignity, protestations of humility which have a sound of pride. "Ye see what manner of servant that is whom the Lord hath set over his people; no other than the vice-gerent of Christ; the successor of Peter. He stands in the midst between God and man; below God, above man; less than God, more than man. He judges all, is judged by none, for it is written—'I will judge.' But he whom the pre-eminence of dignity exalts, is lowered by his office of a servant, that so humility may be exalted, and pride abased; for God is against the high-minded, and to the lowly he shows mercy; and he who exalteth

[h] Walter der Vogelweide, who attributes all the misery of the civil war in Germany to Innocent, closes his poem with these words (modernised by K. Simrock):—

"Ich hörte fern in einer Klaus
Ein Jammern ohne Ende:
Ein Klausner rang die Hände;
Er klagte Gott sein bittres Leid;
O weh, der Papst ist allzu jung, Herr Gott, hilf deiner Christenheit."—Simrock, p. 175.

himself shall be abased. Every valley shall be lifted up, every hill and mountain laid low!" The letters in which he announced his election to the king of France, and to the other realms of Christendom, blend a decent but exaggerated humility with the consciousness of power: Innocent's confidence in himself transpires through his confidence in the divine protection.[1]

State of Christendom.

The state of Christendom might have tempted a less ambitious prelate to extend and consolidate his supremacy. At no period in the history of the Papacy could the boldest assertion of the spiritual power, or even the most daring usurpation, so easily have disguised itself to the loftiest mind under the sense of duty to God and to mankind; never was season so favourable for the aggrandisement of the Pope, never could his aggrandisement appear a greater blessing to the world. Wherever Innocent cast his eyes over Christendom and beyond the limits of Christendom, appeared disorder, contested thrones, sovereigns oppressing their subjects, subjects in arms against their sovereigns, the ruin of the Christian cause. In Italy the crown of Naples on the brows of an infant; the fairest provinces under the galling yoke of fierce German adventurers; the Lombard republics, Guelf or Ghibelline, at war within their walls, at war or in implacable animosity against each other; the Empire, distracted by rival claimants for the throne, one vast scene of battle, intrigue, almost of anarchy; the tyrannical and dissolute Philip Augustus King of France, before long the tyrannical and feeble John of England. The Byzantine empire is tottering to its fall; the kingdom of Jerusalem confined almost to the city of Acre. Every realm seemed to demand, or at least to invite, the interposition, the mediation, of the head of Christendom; in every land one party at least, or one portion of society, would welcome his interference in the last resort for refuge or for protection. Nor did Innocent shrink from that which might have crushed a less energetic spirit to despair; from the Jordan to the Atlantic, from the Mediterranean to beyond the Baltic his influence is felt and confessed; his vast cor-

[1] Epist. i. 1, *et seqq.*

respondence shows at once the inexhaustible activity of his mind; he is involved simultaneously or successively in the vital interests of every kingdom in the western world. The history of Innocent's Papacy will be more full and intelligible by tracing his acts in succession rather than in strict chronological order, in every part of Christendom. I. In Rome, and II. In Italy. III. In the Empire. IV. In France. V. In England. VI. In Spain. VII. In the Northern kingdoms. VIII. In Bulgaria and Hungary. IX. In the Byzantine Empire and the East, in Constantinople, Armenia, and the Holy Land. Finally, X. In the wars of Languedoc with the Albigensian and other schismatics; and XI. XII. In the establishment of the two new monastic orders, that of St. Dominic and that of St. Francis.

The affairs of Rome and of Italy are so intimately blended that it may not be convenient to keep them entirely disconnected.

I. The city of Rome was the first to acknowledge the ascendancy of the new Pontiff. Since the treaty with Clement III. the turbulence of the Roman people seemed sunk to rest. As well the stirring reminiscences of their ancient grandeur as the democratic Christianity of Arnold of Brescia were forgotten. The mutinous spirit which had twice risen in insurrection against Lucius III., and had driven that Pontiff into the north of Italy, had been allayed.[k] Clement had appeased them for a time by the promise of sacrificing Tusculum to their implacable hostility; his successor Cœlestine III. had consummated or extorted from the Emperor that sacrifice.[m] A judicious payment distributed by Clement among the senators had reconciled them to the Papal supremacy. The great Roman families, though their private feuds were not even suspended, were allied to the church by the promotion of their ecclesiastical members to the Cardinalate.[n] The Roman aristocracy had furnished many names among the twenty-seven who concurred in the Rome.

[k] See vol. iii. p. 544.

[m] See vol. iii. p. 547.

[n] In Innocent's earlier promotions I observe a Brancaleone, a Pierleoni (qu. Peter Leonis), a Bisontio from Orvieto, a Crescentius, besides several connected with the Conti.—Additions to Ciaconius.

elevation of the Roman Lothair. Innocent pursued the policy of Clement III. The usual largess on the accession of the new Pope was silently and skilfully distributed through the thirteen quarters of the city. The præfect of the city, now the representative of the imperial authority, (the empire was in abeyance) was either overawed or won to take a strong oath of allegiance to the Pope,[o] by which the sovereignty of the Emperor was silently abrogated. Innocent substituted his own Justiciaries for those appointed by the senate: the whole authority emanated from the Pope, and was held during his pleasure; to the Pope alone the judges were responsible; they were bound to resign when called upon by him. In his own spiritual courts Innocent endeavoured to set the example of strict and unbought justice; to remove the inveterate reproach of venality, which withheld the concourse of appellants to Rome, and was so far injurious to the people. He severely limited the fees and emoluments of his officers; three times a week he held a public consistory for smaller causes; the gravest he meditated in private, and the most accomplished canon lawyer might acquire knowledge from the decrees drawn up by Innocent himself. Even the commencement of Innocent's reign shows how the whole Christian world paid its tribute of appeal to Rome.[p] There was one cause concerning the jurisdiction of the sees of Braga and Compostella over great part of Spain and Portugal; a cause for the metropolitanate of Brittany between the Bishops of Tours and Dôle; a cause of the Archbishop of Canterbury concerning the parish of Lambeth.

Yet neither could the awe, nor the dexterous management of Innocent, nor the wealth of the tributary world, subdue or bribe refractory Rome to peace. There were still factious nobles, John Rainer, one of the Peter Leonis, and John Capocio, a man of stirring popular eloquence, who endeavoured to excite the people to reclaim their rights. Still the versatile people listened with

[o] Gesta, viii. Epist. 1, 23, 577, 578. The oath of Peter the Præfect, i. 577.

[p] Under the Lateran palace, near the kitchen, was a change of money, in which the coin of various countries, vessels of gold and silver were heaped up, exchanged, or sold, by the prætors, for the expenses of the Curia. These "tables of the money-changers" Innocent abolished at once.—Gesta, xli.

greedy ears to these republican tenets. Still the Orsini were in deadly feud with the Scotti, the maternal house of the Pope. Still were there outbursts of insurrection in the turbulent city; still outbursts of war in the no less turbulent territory; Rome was at war with her neighbours, her neighbours with each other. Ere A.D. 1200. three years of Innocent's reign had passed, Rome, in defence of Viterclano, besieged by the Viterbans, takes up arms against Viterbo.

The Romans cared not for the liberty of Viterclano, but they had old arrears of hatred against Viterbo; and once the waters troubled, their gain was sure.[q] If the Pope was against them, Rome was against the Pope; if the Pope was on their side, Viterbo revolted from the Pope. The Tuscans moved to the aid of Viterbo; but the shrewd Pope unexpectedly on the pretext that the Viterbans had despised his commination, even his excommunication, took the part of the Romans; a victory which they obtained over superior forces under the walls of Viterbo was attributed to his intercession; many of them renounced their hostility to the Pope.[r] A second time they marched out; they were supplied with money by the Pope's brother, Richard Count of Sora. While the Pope was celebrating mass on the holy Epiphany, they won a great victory,[s] doubtless through the irre- A.D. 1201. sistible prayers of the Pope; it was reported that they brought home as trophies the great bell and the chains of one of the gates of Viterbo, which were long shown in Rome. The captive Viterbans, men of rank, were sent to Canaparia, where some of them died in misery. The most distinguished, Napoleon, Count of Campilia, Burgudio, protonotary of Viterbo, the Pope afterwards, in compassion, kept in honourable custody in his own palace. Napoleon, to the indignation of the Romans, made his escape. The Pope even mediated a peace between Rome and Viterbo.

[q] "Quod non poterant in aqua clara piscari, cœperunt aquam turbare."—Gesta, c. 133. October, 1200.

[r] "Quidem qui consueverant in contradictionem Domini Papæ ora laxare, publice dicerent, quod ita jam erant ipsorum linguæ, quod nunquam de cetero contra summum pontificem loquerentur."—Gesta, 133.

[s] This latter point rests on the authority of Ciacconius, who does not give his authority.—Vit. Innocent III., p. 8. The Gesta makes out clearly two battles.

Viterbo was humbled to the restoration of the brazen gates of the church of St. Peter, and set up again some brazen vessels in the porch, which she had borne away or broken in the days of Frederick Barbarossa.

The Pope had the strength to decide another quarrel by sterner measures. Two brothers, lords of Narni and Gabriano, were arraigned by Lando lord of Colmezzo and his brothers, for seizing some of their lands. The Pope commanded restitution. The lords of Narni and Gabriano pledged the lands to the Pope's turbulent adversaries in Rome, John Rainer, Peter Leoni, and John Capocio. The Pope instantly ordered the territories of Narni and Gabriano to be laid waste with fire and sword, suspended the common laws of war, sanctioned the ravaging their harvests, felling their fruit trees, destroying mills, driving away cattle. Innocent condescended or ventured to confront the popular leaders in the face of the people. He summoned a great congregation of the Romans, spoke with such commanding eloquence, that the menacing but abashed nobles were obliged to renounce the land which they had received in pawn, and to swear full obedience.[1]

A.D. 1202. Another year, and now the Orsini, the kindred of the late Pope Cœlestine, and the Scotti, the kindred of Pope Innocent, are in fierce strife. The Pope had retired for the summer to Velletri. He summoned both parties, and extorted an oath to keep the peace. The senator Pandulph de Suburra seized and destroyed a stronghold of the Orsini. Not many months elapsed, a murder was committed on the person of Tebaldo, a man connected with both families, by the sons of John Oddo, the Pope's cousin. The Orsini rose; they destroyed two towers belonging to the senator of Rome. They were hardly prevented from exposing the body under the windows of the palace of the Pope's brother, under those of the Pope himself. In the next year arises new strife on an affair of disputed property. The

A.D. 1203.

[1] Gesta, c. 134. "Adhuc eis minantibus et resistentibus coegit nobiles antedictos, ut pignoris contractu rescisso, mandatis ipsius se per omnia parituros juramentis et fide jussionibus promiserunt."

Pope is insulted during a solemn ceremonial. The Pope's adversaries make over the contested land to the senate and the people of Rome. The Pope protests, threatens in vain; the senator is besieged in the Capitol. The Pope finds it expedient to leave the rebellious city, he flies to Palestrina, to Ferentino, and passes the whole winter at Anagni. There he fell dangerously ill.

Rome, impatient of his presence, grew weary of his absence. In the interval had broken out a new, a fiercer strife for a change in the constitution. It was proposed to abrogate the office of a single senator, and to elect by means of twelve middle men, a senate of fifty-six. The Pontiff returned amid universal acclamations. Yet Innocent so far yielded as to permit one of the Peter Leoni house to name the senator. He named Gregory, one of his kindred, a man well disposed to the Pope, but wanting in energy. Still the contest continued to rage, the eloquent Capocio to harangue the multitude. Above this anarchy is seen the calm and majestic Pope, who, as though weary of such petty tumults, and intent on the greater affairs of the Pontificate, the humiliation of sovereigns, the reducing kingdoms to fiefs of the holy see, might seem, having quietly acquiesced in the senate of fifty-six, deliberately to have left the turbulent nobles, on one side the Orsinis, the Peter Leonis, the Capocios, the Baroncellis; on the other, the former senator Pandulph de Suburra, his own brother Count Richard, his kindred the Scotti, to vie with each other in building and strengthening their fortress palaces, and demolishing, whenever they were strong enough, those of their adversaries. To grant the wishes of the people of Rome was the certain way to disappoint them. Ere long they began to execrate the feeble rule of the fifty-six, and implored a single senator.[u] But throughout at least all the earlier years of his Pontificate, Innocent was content with less real power in Rome than in any other region of Christendom.

II. But on the accession of Innocent, beyond the city

[u] "Unde populus adeo cæpit execrari, ut oportuerit Dominum Papam ad communem populi petitionem unum eis senatorem concedere." The last chapters of the Gesta are full of this wild and confused anarchy.

walls and the immediate territory, all which belonged to or was claimed by the Roman see was in the hands of ferocious German adventurers, at the head each of his predatory foreign troops. Markwald of Anweiler, a knight of Alsace, the Seneschal of the Emperor Henry, called himself Duke of Ravenna and was invested with the March of Ancona and all its cities. Diephold, Count of Acerra, had large territories in Apulia. Conrad of Lutzenberg,[y] a Swabian knight, as Duke of Spoleto, possessed that city, its domain, and Assisi. The estates of the Countess Matilda were held by Germans in the name of Philip, the brother of the Emperor Henry, who had hastened to Germany to push his claims on the Empire. Some few cities had asserted their independence; the sea-coast and Salerno were occupied by Benedetto Carisomi. Of these Markwald was the most formidable; his congenial valour and cruelty had recommended him to the especial favour of Henry. He had been named by the Emperor on his deathbed Regent of Sicily.

Italy only awaited a deliverer from the German yoke. The annals of tyranny contain nothing more revolting than the cruelties of the Emperor Henry to his Italian subjects. While there was the profoundest sorrow in Germany at the loss of a monarch, if of severe justice, yet whose wisdom and valour were compared with Solomon and David,[x] at his death the cry of rejoicing broke forth from Calabria to Lombardy. In asserting the Papal claims to the dominion of Romagna, and all to which the See of Rome advanced its pretensions, Innocent fell in with all the more generous aspirations of Italy, with the common sympathies of mankind. The cause of the Guelfs (these names are now

[y] Conrad was called by the strange name Mück-in-hirn, "fly in his brain," (like our "bee in his bonnet"): he was the wildest of these wild soldiers.

[x] "Omnia cum Papâ gaudent de morte tyranni . . .
Mors necat et cunctî gaudent de morte sepulti,
Apulus et Calaber, Siculus, Tuscusque Ligurque."—*J. de Cermâ, Chronic. Foss. Nov. Muratori*, viii.

"Cujus mors Teutonicorum omnium omnibusque Germaniæ populis lamentabilis est in æternum, quod aliorum divitiis eos claros reddidit, terroremque eorum omnibus in circuitu nationibus per virtutem bellicam incussit, eosque præstantiores aliis gentibus nimium ostendit futuros, ni morte præventus foret. Per sapientiam Solomonis et per fortitudinem David regis scivit parcere subjectes et debellare superbos."—Theodoric von Esternach. Martene, Coll. Amp. iv. 462.

growing into common use)—was more than that of the Church, it was the cause of freedom and humanity. The adherents of the Ghibellines, at least the open adherents (for in most cities there was a secret if small Ghibelline faction) were only the lords of the German fortresses, the cities they occupied, and a few of the republics which dreaded the hostility of their neighbours more than a foreign yoke, Pisa, Cremona, Pavia, Genoa. The hour of deliverance, if not of revenge, was come. Innocent summoned Markwald to surrender the territories of the Church. Markwald was conscious of his danger, and endeavoured to lure the Pontiff into an alliance. He offered to make him greater than Pope had ever been since the days of Constantine.[y] But Innocent knew his strength in the universal, irresistible, indelible hatred of the foreign, the German, the barbarian yoke: he rejected the treacherous overtures.[z] City after city, Ancona, Fermo, Osimo, Fano, Sinigaglia, Pesaro, Iesi, dashed down the German banner; Camerina and Ascoli alone remained faithful to Markwald. Markwald revenged himself by sallying from the gates of Ravenna, ravaging the whole region, burning, plundering, destroying homesteads and harvests, castles and churches. Innocent opened the Papal treasures, borrowed large sums of money, raised an army; hurled an excommunication against the rebellious vassal of the Church, in which he absolved all who had sworn allegiance to Markwald from their oaths. Markwald withdrew into the south of Italy. Markwald.

Conrad of Lutzenberg,[a] Duke of Spoleto, beheld the fall of Markwald with consternation; he made the humblest offers of subjection, the most liberal offers of tribute. But Innocent knew that any compromise Conrad of Lutzenberg.

[y] "Se ecclesiam magis quam ulli imperatores auxissent, amplificaturum." —Otto de S. Blaise, c. 45; Rainald, sub ann. 1298.

[z] Epist. i. 38. "Licet autem dominus Papa conditionem istam utilem reputaret, quia tamen multi scandalisabantur ex eâ tanquam vellet Teutonicos in Italia confovere, qui crudeli tyrannide redegerant eos in gravissimam servitutem, in favorem libertatis declinans, non acceptavit oblata."—Gesta, Innocent, c. 9. Boehmer (Regesta, p. vii.) quotes this, among other passages, to shew the barbarity of the Germans, the hatred of the Italians.

[a] According to M. Abel (Philip der Hohenstaufer), properly Conrad of Urslingen.

with the Germans would be odious to his Italian subjects: he demanded instant, unconditional submission. Conrad surrendered all the patrimonial domains of the Pope in his possession without reserve; the other cities resumed their freedom. On these terms Innocent permitted the Cardinal Legate to receive at Narni Conrad's oath of unqualified fidelity on the Gospels, on the Cross, and on the Holy Reliques. He appointed the Cardinal San Gregorio the Governor of the Dukedom of Spoleto, and of the County of Assisi and its domains. Conrad retired to Germany. In person Innocent visited Reate, Spoleto, Perugia, Todi; everywhere he was received as the Sovereign, as the deliverer. The Archbishop of Ravenna alone resisted the encroachments of Innocent, displayed the Imperial investiture, and preserved the territories of his church.[b] Throughout Italy, the precarious state of the Imperial power, the sudden rise of a vigorous Pontifical administration, gave new life to the popular and Italian cause. The Tuscan League, the Lombard League, renewed their approaches to more intimate relations with the Pope; but to the Tuscans the language of Innocent was that of a master. Their demands to choose their own rectors with a sovereign Prior to preside over their League, he answered by a summons to unqualified submission to him, as heir to the Countess Matilda, and sovereign of the whole Duchy of Tuscany. "I have seen," he said, "with my own eyes, that the Duchy of Tuscany belongs of right to the Pope." Without the Papal protection the League could not subsist: he warned the cities lest, rejecting it, they should fall by the sword of the stranger.[c] But the most remarkable document is an address to all the cities, in which the similitude, now growing into favour, of the spiritual and temporal power to the sun and moon, the temporal only deriving a reflected light from the spiritual, is wrought out with careful study.[d] But as regarded Italy, both powers met in the supreme Pontiff. The Ghibelline city of Pisa was placed under an interdict for presuming to assert its daring independence of the League; a temporary suspen-

[b] Murator. sub ann. 1198.
[c] Epist. i. 15, 35.
[d] Epist. i. 401, and in the Gesta.

sion of the interdict was haughtily and ungraciously granted.

The German dominion was driven into the South: there it was still strong from the occupation of the chief fortresses.[e] Constantia, the widow of Henry, now Queen, or at-least left natural guardian of the realm, deemed it prudent, or was actuated by her own inclinations, to separate herself from the German cause, and to throw herself and her son upon the native interest. She sent three Neapolitan nobles to demand her infant son Frederick from Iesi, where he had been brought up by the wife of Conrad of Lutzenberg; she caused him to be crowned in Palermo as joint sovereign of Sicily. She disclaimed Markwald the Duke of Ravenna, and declared him an enemy to the King and to the kingdom. She commanded the foreign troops to leave Sicily; they retired, reluctant and brooding over revenge, to the castles on the mainland. She submitted to request the investiture of the realm for her son as a fief from the Papal See. Innocent saw his own strength, and her weakness. He condescended to her petition on the condition of her paying due allegiance to him as her lord for the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the patrimony of the Holy See.[f] He seized the opportunity of enforcing hard terms, the revocation of certain privileges which had been granted by his predecessors to the faithful Norman princes as the price of their fidelity. Constantia silently yielded; she received a bull, which in the strongest terms proclaimed the absolute feudal superiority of the Pope over the whole kingdom of Naples and Sicily: that extraordinary pretension, grounded on no right but on the assertion of right, had now, by its repeated assertion on one part, its feeble denial or acceptance on the other, grown into an established usage. The bull pronounced that the kingdom of Sicily belonged to the jurisdiction and to the property of the Church of Rome. The Queen was to swear allegiance, her son to do so directly he came of age. A tribute was to be paid. The bishops, under all circumstances, had the right of appeal

Queen Constantia.

[e] Epist. i. 35. "Marcualdum imperii seneschalcum cum Teutonicis omnibus de regno exclusit."—Rich. San Germ.

[f] Epist. i. 410, 413.

to Rome; all offences of the clergy, except high treason, were to be judged by the ecclesiastical courts. Sicily became a subject-kingdom, a province of the Papacy, under the constant superintendence of a Legate.

Before the bull had been prepared, Constantia fell ill. Either in an access of devotion, or of maternal solicitude for her infant son, for whom she would secure the most powerful protection, she bequeathed him to the guardianship of his liege lord the Pope.[g] Innocent accepted the charge; in his consolatory letter to the child, he assured Frederick, that though God had visited him by the death of his father and mother, he had provided him with a more worthy father—his own vicar on earth; a better mother—the Church.[h]

Constantia died on the 27th of November.[i] Innocent was thus, if he could expel the Germans, virtually King of Sicily, master of his own large territories, as the ally and protector of the great Republican Leagues the dominant power in Italy; and all this in less than one year after his accession to the Papal throne.[k]

A.D. 1198. Death of Constantia.

But the elements of discord were not so easily awed into peace. The last will of Constantia, besides the guardianship of the Pope, had appointed a Council of Regency: the Chancellor, the subtle and ambitious Walter of Palear Bishop of Troja (whose brothers, and perhaps himself, were in dangerous correspondence with Markwald), the Archbishops of Palermo, Monreale, and Capua. She trusted not to the unrewarded piety or charity of the Pontiff: for the protection of her son Sicily was to pay yearly thirty thousand pieces of gold;[m] all his other expenses were to be charged on the revenue of the kingdom. But her death opened a new scene of intrigue and daring to

[g] Innocent, Epist. i. 322.

[h] Epist. i. 565.

[i] Aged 45; a year and 19 days after her husband.

[k] He interfered soon after in the affairs of the Lombard League. Parma and Piacenza had quarrelled about the possession of Borgo San Domnino. He commanded his legate to take counsel with the bishops to keep the peace; threatened excommunication, and ordered the castle to be placed in his own hands.—Epist. ii. 39.

[m] The tarini varied in value. The ounce of gold, about 21 grammes, 10 cent. (French weight), was divided into 24 tarini. Its value would be about 2 francs, 63 c., 75 m. The 30,000 would amount to about 79,125 francs. M. Cherrier estimates that it would represent five times the amount in present money.—Lutte des Papes, ii. 40, note.

Markwald. He resumed the title of Seneschal of the Empire, laid claim to the administration of Sicily and the guardianship of the infant sovereign, alleging a testament of the Emperor, which invested him in that charge. The nobles of Sicily, however they might dread or detest the Germans, were not more disposed to be the mere ministers of the Pope. They received the Legate who came to administer the oath of allegiance with coldness; he returned to Rome. Markwald, in the mean time, had placed himself at the head of a powerful band of adventurers: he fell on the town of St. Germano, and had almost become master of the great monastery of Monte Casino, which was defended for eight days by a garrison of the Pope, and in which several cardinals had taken refuge. On the day of St. Maur the beloved companion of St. Benedict, the serene sky was suddenly clouded; a terrific storm broke out, overthrew the tents of Markwald's army, and caused such a panic dread of the avenging saint, that they fled on all sides.[n] Innocent issued a proclamation summoning the whole realm of Naples and Sicily to arms. He reminded them of their sufferings under Markwald and Markwald's master; how their princes, and even the clergy, had been tortured, mutilated, blinded, roasted (as he says) before slow fires.[o] The Pope had not spared the Papal treasures: he had assembled troops for their aid from Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, Campania. In his warlike address to the clergy, they were commanded on every Sunday, and on every festival, to renew the solemn excommunication, with quenched candles and tolling bells, against Markwald and all his accomplices.[p] Markwald had again recourse to craft and dissimulation. Through the Archbishop of Mentz (who was in Rome on his return from the Holy Land) he made offers to the Pope which showed that he thought Innocent as unscrupulous as himself. He asserted the bastardy of

A.D. 1198.

[n] "Cæpit more *Teutonico* in terram monasterii desævire."—Rich. San Germ. ad 1198. It is remarkable that Innocent says not a word in his letters of the miracle; he ascribes the discomfiture of Markwald to the valour of the barons and knights who had taken arms on his side.

[o] "Vix est aliquis in toto regno, qui in se vel suis, personâ vel rebus, consanguineis vel amicis, grave non incurrerit per Teutonicos detrimentum."—Reg. Innocent, No. ii.

[p] Epist. i. 557 to 556.

Frederick; proposed that Innocent should invest him, Markwald, with the kingdom of Sicily. He would pay the Pope at once the enormous sum of 20,000 ounces of gold;[q] the like sum on being put in possession of Palermo. He would double the annual tribute, and rule the island under the absolute control of the Pope. These offers being rejected, he was seized with a sudden and passionate desire of spiritual reconciliation with the Church. It was a strange contest; Markwald endeavouring by humble civilities, by menaces, by lavish offers, to extort absolution on the easiest terms from the Cardinals. He declared himself ready to swear unreserved obedience in spiritual matters, in temporal more cautiously, to all just mandates of the Pope. Legates were sent to Veroli to receive his oath—Octavian the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, Guido Cardinal Presbyter of S. Maria in Transtevere, Ugolino Cardinal Deacon of S. Eustachio. He invited them to a banquet in a neighbouring convent, and Markwald himself served them with the utmost humility; but audible murmurs were heard at the close that they were to be taken prisoners, and compelled to grant the unconditional absolution. Octavian and Guido were frightened; Ugolino took courage, and produced a bull of the Pope, with which the wary Innocent had provided them, prescribing the form of the oath, which implied the absolute abandonment of the bailiwick of Sicily, restoration of the patrimony of St. Peter, compensation for plunder, especially of the monastery of Monte Casino; and, above all, Markwald was to swear to respect the persons of all ecclesiastics, especially of the Cardinals of the Church. There was a wild and threatening tumult among the German soldiery and the populace against the Cardinals. But Markwald had not the courage to proceed to violence. They were permitted to return to Veroli: Markwald took the prescribed oath, and received absolution.

But the absolution thus obtained at Veroli by a feigned submission was soon forfeited. Markwald would not renounce, he still affected the title of guardian of Sicily: he called himself Seneschal. In this name the jealous sagacity of Innocent detected latent pretensions to

May, 1199.

[q] Gesta, ch. xxii.

the protectorate. An excommunication more full, if possible, more express, more maledictory, was hurled against the recreant German. Every one who supplied provisions, clothing, ships, or troops to Markwald fell under the same anathema.[r] Any clerk who officiated in his presence incurred deprivation. Markwald retired to Salerno; a fleet from Ghibelline Pisa was ready to convey him to Sicily. He crossed the straits; received the submission of many cities, was welcomed by many noble families, by the whole Saracen population. Innocent pursued him with the strongest manifestoes. He addressed a letter to the counts, barons, citizens, and the whole people of Sicily. He reminded them of the atrocious cruelties perpetrated by the Emperor Henry and his German followers; announced the excommunication of Markwald, the absolution of all his adherents from their oaths of fidelity. "He is come to Sicily with the pirate William the Fat to usurp the throne; to say of the infant Frederick, 'This is the heir, let us slay him, and take possession of his inheritance.' He is leagued with the Saracens; he is prepared to glut their throats with Christian blood, to abandon Christian wives to their lusts." Towards the Saracens, nevertheless, Innocent expresses himself with mildness; "if they remain faithful to the King, he will not merely maintain, he will augment their privileges." The Pope went further: he addressed a solemn admonition to the Saracens. "They knew by experience the gentleness of the Apostolic See, the barbarity of Markwald. They had been eye-witnesses of his cruelties, the drowning in the sea, the roasting of priests over slow fires, the flagellation of multitudes. He who was so cruel to his fellow Christians would be even more ruthless to strangers, to those of other rites and other creeds. He who could ungratefully and rebelliously rise against the son of his liege lord would little respect the rights of foreigners; all oaths to them would be despised by one who had broken all his oaths to the Roman See."[s] With still more singular incongruity, he assures the Saracens that he has sent as their protectors the Cardinal of St. Laurence in Lucina, the Archbishops of Naples and

[r] Epist. ii. 179; and iii. 280. [s] Epist. ii. 226.

Tarentum, as well as his own relatives John the Marshal and Otho of Palumbria.[1] Markwald, notwithstanding these denunciations and addresses, pursued his way and appeared before Palermo.

In Apulia, warlike cardinals, and even James the Marshal, the cousin of the Pope, though he showed considerable military skill as well as valour, were no antagonists against the disciplined and experienced Germans, Diephold, and Frederick Malati, who held Calabria. Innocent wanted a warrior of fame and generalship to lead his forces. France was the land to supply bold and chivalrous adventurers. Sybilla, the widow of Tancred of Sicily, dethroned by Henry, had made her escape from her prison in the Tyrol. She married her eldest daughter to Walter de Brienne, of a noble but impoverished house. Walter of Brienne came to Rome to demand the inheritance of his wife, the principality of Tarentum and the county of Lecce, which Henry had settled on the descendants of Tancred. Walter was the man whom Innocent needed. He was at once invested in the possession of Tarentum and Lecce; at the same time he was sworn to assert no claim to the kingdom, but to protect the rights of the infant Sovereign. Piety, justice and policy, equally demanded this security for the Pontiff, as guardian of Frederick; a security precarious enough from a powerful, probably an ambitious stranger. Walter returned to France to levy troops. Markwald, in the mean time, with his own forces and with the Saracens, besieged Palermo; the Papal troops, headed by the Archbishop of Naples, the Marshal and the Legate, came, the former directly by sea, to the aid of Walter the Chancellor, who had refused all the advances of Markwald. A battle took place, in which Markwald suffered a total defeat. Magded, the Emir of the Saracens, was slain. In the baggage of Markwald was found, or said to be found, a will with a golden seal, purporting to be that of the Emperor Henry. It commanded his wife and son to recognise all the Papal rights over Sicily; it bequeathed Sicily, in case of the death of his son, in the fullest terms to the Pope. It commanded the immediate restitution of the estates of the

[1] Epist. i. 489. Nov. 24, 1199.

Countess Matilda by the Empire to the Pope. If this will was made during the last illness of the Emperor (yet it contemplates the contingency of his wife dying before him), he might have been disposed either as leaving a helpless wife and an infant heir, to secure the protection of the Pope, and so the surrender of the Matildine territories may have been designed as a direct reward for the confirmation of his son in the Empire; or the whole may have been framed in a fit of death-bed penitence. The suspicious part was another clause, bequeathing the duchy of Ravenna, with Bertinoro and the march of Ancona, to Markwald;[u] but even this, if the Duke died without heirs, was to revert to the Roman See.

The appearance of Walter of Brienne at the head of a small but chosen band of knights; his commission by the Pope as the leader of the faithful,[x] his rapid successes, his defeat of Diephold before Capua, the retreat of the Germans into their fortresses, his peaceful occupation of Tarentum, Lecce, and great part of Apulia, alarmed, or gave pretence for alarm, to the great nobles of Sicily. The ambitious churchman Walter of Troja, the Chancellor, aspired to the vacant archbishopric of Palermo. Innocent had been obliged to consent to his taking possession of the temporalities of the See, though he withheld the pallium.[y] The Chancellor had the strongest apprehensions of the progress of Walter of Brienne. A gradual approximation took place between the Chancellor Archbishop and Markwald. The Chancellor was to leave Markwald in undisputed possession of Apulia, Markwald the Chancellor in that of Sicily. The friendship was hollow and mistrustful. Each suspected and accused the other of designs on the Crown—Markwald for himself, Walter for his brother, Gentile Count of Manupelles. Both, however, were equally jealous of Walter of Brienne: Markwald as already more than his equal in the kingdom of Naples The Chancellor assumed loyal apprehension for the endangered rights of the infant Frederick, whom the Pope, as June, 1201.

[u] The will is in the Gesta, xxvii. It is of very doubtful authenticity. Could it have been forged by Markwald, to be produced if occasion required? or was it from other hands?

[x] 'Domino protegente fideles ab infidelibus."—Gesta, c. xxx.

[y] May 3, 1203.

he suspected, would betray. Innocent was compelled to justify himself in a long letter addressed to the young Frederick, whom he warned to mistrust all around him, and to place his sole reliance on the parental guardianship of the Pope. The Chancellor Walter of Troja was now in the kingdom of Naples, levying money for the service of the realm, which he is accused of having done in the most rapacious manner, not sparing the treasures, nor even the holy vessels of the churches. He might plead, perhaps, the tribute paid by the realm to the Pope. To the Papal legate, the Bishop of Porto, he professed unbounded submission, took the oath of allegiance, and received absolution. When, however, he was commanded not to oppose Walter of Brienne, against whom he was in almost armed confederacy with the Germans, he broke fiercely out, as if in indignant patriotism: "If St. Peter himself uttered such command, he would not obey; the fear of hell should not tempt him to be guilty of such treason;" and he is said to have blasphemed (such is the term) against the Pope himself.[z] From the presence of the Legate he set out openly to join Diephold. A battle took place near Bari. Walter of Brienne, though embarrassed by the presence and the fears of the Legate, gained a complete victory: many important prisoners, among them a brother of Diephold, were taken.

But in Sicily as well as Naples the partisans of Walter of Troja, comprehending the greater part of the Norman and native nobles, were now in alliance with the Germans. Sept. 1202. Death of Markwald. Markwald entered Palermo, and became master of the person of the King. He died shortly after of an unsuccessful or unskilful operation for the stone. The palace and the person of the King were seized by a powerful Norman noble, William of Capperone. From him Walter the Chancellor, who still claimed to be Bishop of Troja, and, despite of the Pope, Archbishop of Palermo, endeavoured by a long course of intrigue to wrest away the precious charge. In the kingdom of Naples, the death of Walter of Brienne, who was surprised, taken, and who died of his wounds[a] as a prisoner of Diephold, gave back

[z] Gesta, xxxiv.

[a] The battle, the 11th of June, 1205.

the ascendancy to the German party. The Pope was constrained to accept their precarious and doubtful submission; to admit them to reconciliation with the Church. Diephold became the most powerful subject, and more than a subject in the kingdom of Naples.

Thus grew up the young Frederick, the ward of the Pope, without that pious, or at least careful education[b] which might have taught him respect and gratitude to the Holy See; among Churchmen who conspired against or openly defied the head of the Church; taught from his earliest years by every party to mistrust the other; taught by the Sicilians to hate the Germans, by the Germans to despise the Sicilians; taught that in the Pope himself, his guardian, there was no faith or loyalty; that his guardian would have sacrificed him, had it been his interest, to the house of Tancred. All around him was intrigue, violence, conflict. Government was almost suspended throughout Sicily. The Saracens hardly acknowledging any allegiance to the throne, warred with impartiality against the Christians of both parties; yet neither had any repugnance to an alliance with the gallant Infidels against the opposing party. Such was the training of him who was in a short time to wear the Imperial crown, to wage the last strife of the house of Hohenstaufen with his mother, rather perhaps his step-mother, the Church.

[b] The Cardinal Cencio Savelli, afterwards the mild Honorius III., had at first the nominal charge of his education.

CHAPTER II.

INNOCENT AND THE EMPIRE.

Vacancy of the Empire.

The Empire, now vacant, might seem to invite the commanding interposition of Innocent. It opened almost a wider field for the ambition of the Pope, and for those exorbitant pretensions to power which disguised themselves as tending to promote peace and order by expanding the authority of the Church, than Italy itself. But it was not so easy to reconcile these vast demands for what was called spiritual freedom, but which was in fact spiritual dominion, with the real interests of Germany. The prosperity, the peace of the Empire depended on the strength, the influence, the unity of the temporal power; the security, the advancement of the Papacy on its weakness and its anarchy. A vigorous and uncontested Sovereignty could alone restrain the conflicting states, and wisely and temperately administered, might advance the social condition of Germany. At all events, such sovereignty was necessary to spare the realm from years of civil war, during which armed adventurers grew up, from their impregnable castles warring against each other, defying all government, wasting the land with fire and sword, preventing culture, inhibiting commerce, retarding civilisation. But a powerful Emperor had always been found formidable to the Church, at least to the temporal rule of the Papacy; his claims to Italian dominion were only suspended by his inability to enforce them; and the greater his strength, the less the independence of the German prelacy. The Emperor either domineered over them, or filled the important sees with his own favourites. The Pope could not but remember the long strife of his predecessors with the house of Hohenstaufen; in them was centred all the hostility, all the danger of Ghibellinism; they seemed born to be implacable foes of the

Papacy: he might naturally shrink in execration at the recent cruelties of Henry, though he could hardly augur in the infant King of Sicily so obstinate an antagonist to his successors as Frederick II.

The perpetuation of the Empire in this haughty house was in itself a cause of serious apprehension; it added immeasurably to the Imperial power, and every subordinate consideration must be sacrificed to the limitation of that power.

Immediately after the death of Henry, his brother Philip,[a] abandoning his first intention of descending to the south, and of taking with him the young Frederick, hastened to the Alps, which he reached not without difficulty, pursued, even menaced, by the murmurs and imprecations of the Italians. Already had Henry in his lifetime obtained the oath of many of the German princes to his infant son, as King of the Romans and heir of the Empire. Philip at first asserted, and seemed honestly disposed to assert the claims of his nephew; but an infant Emperor was too contrary to German usage, manifestly so unsuited to the difficult times, that Philip consented to be chosen King by a large body of princes and of prelates assembled at Mulhausen.[b] But the adverse party had not been inactive. The soul of this party was Adolph of Altena, the powerful, opulent, and crafty Archbishop of Cologne. The great prelates of the Rhine and the neighbouring princes seemed to claim a kind of initiative. The Archbishop of Mentz, Conrad of Wittlesbach, was absent in the Holy Land;[c] the Archbishop of Treves appeared at first on the side of the Archbishop of Cologne. They met at Andernach, and professed surprise that the rest of the princes were so slow in joining the legitimate Diet. They determined, of themselves, to raise up an

Philip retires to Germany.

March 6.

[a] Philip had been intended for holy orders, was provost of Aix-la-Chapelle, had been chosen Bishop of Wurtzburg in 1191. In 1194 he accompanied the Emperor to Apulia; was named Duke of Tuscany, 1195; married to the Princess Irene; Duke of Swabia, 1196.

[b] At Arnstadt, in Thuringia, according to Boehmer, Pref. p. ix. Compare the passage as to the spontaneous offer of the princes.

[c] Conrad of Rabensburg, Bishop of Hildesheim, later of Wurtzburg, once a fellow-student of Thomas à Becket, was also in the Holy Land; as also the eldest son of Henry the Lion.

antagonist to the house of Hohenstaufen. Three princes for different reasons refused to embark in the perilous contest. Richard of Cornwall was at length conscious of his folly in aspiring, as he had too often done, to the Empire. Berthold of Zahringen, who had once yielded, withdrew from prudence, or rather avarice.[d] Bernard of Saxony, as feeling himself unequal to the burthen of Empire, and already pledged to the cause of Philip. The prelates turned their thoughts at length to the house of Henry the Lion, the irreconcileable adversary of the house of Swabia. Henry, the eldest son, was engaged in the Crusades; the second, Otho, since the house had fallen under the ban of the Empire, had resided at the court of England, under the protection of Richard of Cornwall. By his valour he had attracted the notice of his uncle, King Richard Cœur de Lion: he had been created first Count of York, afterwards Count of Poitou. Otho could not have lived under a better training for the fostering his hereditary hatred and thirst of revenge against the house of Hohenstaufen, or for the love of chivalrous adventure. He had nothing to lose, an imperial crown to win. His uncle, Richard of England, could never forget his imprisonment in Germany, and the part taken by the Emperor in that galling and disgraceful transaction. The perfidy and avarice of Henry were to be visited in due retribution on his race.[e] Otho set forth on his expedition, to gain the Imperial crown, well furnished with English gold,[f] with some followers, and with provisions of war. In May he was proclaimed Emperor at Cologne; he was declared the champion of the Church: he owed his election to a few Churchmen. The Archbishop of Cologne either represented, or pretended to represent, besides his own vote, the Archbishop of Mentz. English gold bought the ava-

Otho.

A.D. 1198.

[d] Annal Argentin.

[e] By the English account King Richard by his money initiated the proceedings of Archbishop Adolph; he bought the crown for Otho: "Rex Richardus divitiis et consiliis pollens, tantum egit muneribus et xeniis suis erga Archiepiscopum Coloniæ et erga proceres imperii, quod omnibus aliis omissis, Othonem nepotem suum, miræ strenuitatis et elegantis corporis adolescentem elegerint." —Radulph. Coggeshal, ap. Martene, v. 851. Philip asserts this in his letter to the Pope.—Apud Innocent, Epist. i. 747.

[f] According to Arnold of Lubeck, 50,000 marks. "Quæ in summariis ferebant quinquaginta dextrarii." — c. vii. 17.

ricious Archbishop of Treves. The Flemish nobles, allied with England, were almost unanimous in favour of Otho; many other princes, who had returned from the Crusades on the news of the Emperor's death, joined either from love of war, respect for the Church, or hatred of the Hohenstaufen, the growing party.

Nothing can be more sublime than the notion of a great supreme religious power, the representative of God's eternal and immutable justice upon earth, absolutely above all passion or interest, interposing with the commanding voice of authority in the quarrels of kings and nations, persuading peace by the unimpeachable impartiality of its judgments, and even invested in power to enforce its unerring decrees. But the sublimity of the notion depends on the arbiter's absolute exemption from the unextinguishable weaknesses of human nature. If the tribunal commands not unquestioning respect; if there be the slightest just suspicion of partiality; if it goes beyond its lawful province; if it has no power of compelling obedience, it adds but another element to the general confusion; it is a partisan enlisted on one side or the other, not a mediator conciliating conflicting interests, or overawing the collision of factions. Yet such was the Papal power in these times; often, no doubt, on the side of justice and humanity, too often on the other; looking to the interests of the Church alone, assumed, but assumed without ground to be the same as those of Christendom and mankind; the representative of fallible man rather than of the infallible God. Ten years of strife and civil war in Germany are to be traced, if not to the direct instigation, to the inflexible obstinacy of Pope Innocent III.

It was too much the interest of both parties to obtain the influence of the Pope in their favour, not to incline them outwardly at least to submit their claims to his investigation. But it was almost as certain that one party at least would not abide by his unfavourable decree: and however awful the power of excommunication with which there could be no doubt that the Pope would endeavour to compel obedience, in no instance had the spiritual power, at least in later days, obtained eventual success.

Innocent assumed a lofty equity; but the house of Henry the Lion had ever been devoted to the Pope; the house of Swabia ungovernable, if not inimical. His first measure against Philip was one of cautious hostility. Philip was already under the ban of the Church—I. As implicated with his brother in the cruelties exercised against the family of the unfortunate Tancred, the rival favoured by the Pope for the throne of Sicily. II. As having held by Imperial grant the domains of the Countess Matilda, to which the Popes maintained their right by anathema against all who should withhold them from the See. The Bishop of Sutri was sent as Legate to demand of Philip the immediate release of Sybilla, the widow of Tancred, and of her daughters, who were imprisoned in Germany, as well as of the Archbishop of Salerno their partisan. The German prelates of the Rhine were commanded to support this demand, to sequester the goods of all who had presumed to assist in the incarceration of an Archbishop, in itself an act of sacrilege.[g] The Chapter of Mentz, in the absence of the Primate, was to pronounce an interdict not only on those concerned in the imprisonment, and the whole city in which it had taken place; but also to bring under the ban of the Church all German princes who did not heartily strive for their release: if satisfaction was not instantly made, the ban spread over the whole of Germany.[h] Philip himself was to be reminded of his state of excommunication, as usurper of the territories of the Church. Only on his giving full satisfaction on both points, the instantaneous release of the prisoners, especially the Archbishop of Salerno, and his surrender of all the lands of the Roman See, the Bishop of Sutri was empowered to grant absolution; otherwise he could only receive it as a suppliant from the Pope himself. Thus the first act of the aspirant to the Empire was to be an acknowledgment of almost the highest pretensions of the Papal supremacy, a condemnation of his brother's policy, the cession of the

Conduct of Innocent.

Feb. 1198.

[g] Epist. i. 24, 25.

[h] It is remarkable that Innocent dwells on the sins of the luxurious and effeminate Sicilians, who had been visited on that account by the cruelties of the Germans, rather than on the tyranny and inhumanity of the Germans.—Epist. 26.

lands of the Countess Matilda. Innocent had chosen a German by birth, perhaps from his knowledge of the language, for this important Legation, in full confidence, no doubt, that the interests of the Church would quench all feelings of nationality. But either from this nationality, from weakness, or love of peace, the Bishop of Sutri allowed himself to be persuaded by Philip to stretch to the utmost, if not to go beyond, his instructions. Philip consented in vague words to the amplest satisfaction; and on this general promise, obtained a secret absolution from the Legate. Innocent disclaimed his weak envoy; afterwards degraded him from his See, and banished him to a remote monastery, where he died in shame and grief.[i]

Yet Philip stood absolved by one representing the Papal authority. This objection to the validity of his election was removed; and in most other respects his superiority was manifest. The largest and most powerful part of the Empire acknowledged him; his army was the strongest; the treasures which his brother had brought from Sicily were lavished with successful prodigality; his garrison as yet occupied Aix-la-Chapelle, the city in which the Emperors were crowned; all the sacred regalia were in his hands. The Rhenish prelates and the nobles of Flanders stood almost alone on the side of Otho; but Richard of England had supplied him with large sums of money; and with the aid of the Flemish princes he made himself master of Aix-la-Chapelle, and was crowned in that city by the Archbishop of Cologne. Philip celebrated his coronation at Mentz, but the highest Prelate who would perform this rite was a foreigner, at least not a German, Aimo, Archbishop of Tarentaise.

July 10, 1198. Coronation of two Emperors. July 12, 1198. Aug. 15, 1198.

If Richard of England was on one side, Philip Augustus of France was sure to be on the other in this contest; and besides his rivalry with England, Philip had personal and hereditary cause for hostility to Otho; and with the house of Hohenstaufen he had ever maintained friendly alliance.[k]

Philip Augustus of France.

[i] Ughelli, Italia Sacra, i. 1275. Worms, June 29, 1198.

[k] Godef. Mon. Arnold Lubeck. See Von Raumer, iii. p. 107. Gerv. Tilb.

Innocent seemed to await the submission of the cause to his arbitration; as yet, indeed, he was fully occupied with the affairs of Rome and Italy. The friends of Otho, who could well anticipate his favourable judgment, were the first to make their appeal. Addresses were sent to Rome in the name of Richard King of England, Count Baldwin of Flanders, the city of Milan, the Archbishop of Cologne, his suffragans the Bishops of Munster, Minden, Paderborn, Cambray and Utrecht, the Bishop of Strasburg, the Abbots of Verden and Corvey, Duke Henry of Brabant, with many Abbots and Counts. Most of these documents promised the most profound submission on the part of Otho to the Church; specifically abandoned the detestable practice[m] of seizing the goods of bishops and abbots on their decease, and pledged all the undersigned to the same loyal protection of the Church and all her rights. The answer of Innocent was courteous, but abstained from recognising the title of Otho.

Pope Innocent.

The civil war began its desolations. Philip at first gained great advantages; he advanced almost to the gates of Cologne; and retreated only on the tidings of the approach of a powerful army from Flanders. It was civil war in its most barbarous lawlessness. Bonn, Andernach, and other towns were burned; it is said that a nun was stripped naked, anointed with honey, rolled in feathers, and then set on a horse with her face to the tail, and paraded through the streets. Philip, on his side, wrought by indignation from his constitutional mildness, commanded the guilty soldiers to be boiled in hot water. The winter suspended the hostile operations.

A.D. 1198.

Philip himself maintained a lofty silence towards Rome; he would not, it might seem, compromise the right of election in the princes and prelates of the realm, by what might be construed into the acknowledged arbitration of a

The King of France, writing to the Pope: "Ad hæc cum rex Angliæ per fas et nefas pecuniâ suâ mediante nepotem suum ad imperialem apicem conatur intrudere, vos nullatenus intrusionem illam, si placet, debetis admittere, quoniam in opprobrium coronæ nostræ cognoscitur redundare." — Innocent, Epist. i. 690.

[m] "Consuetudinem illam detestabilem."

superior authority. A year had now passed; the war, on the whole, had been to his advantage; the death of Richard of England had deprived Otho of his most formidable ally. Innocent could no longer brook delay; without his aid there was danger lest the cause of Otho should utterly fail. His expectations that both parties would lay the cause at his feet were disappointed; he was compelled to take the initiative. Unsummoned therefore by general consent, appealed to by but one party, he ascended as it were his tribunal; in a letter to the Archbishop of Cologne, though by no means committing himself, he allowed his favourable disposition to transpire somewhat more clearly. In an address to the Princes and Prelates, he declared his surprise that a cause on which depended the dignity or disgrace of the Church, the peace and unity or the desolation of the Empire, had not been at once submitted to him, in whom was vested the sole and absolute right of determining the dispute in the first and last resort. It was his duty to admonish them to put an end to this fatal anarchy. He would adjudge the crown to him who should unite the greater number of suffrages, and was the best deserving.[n] The merits of the case were thus left to no rigid rule of right, but vaguely yielded up to his arbitrary judgment. Philip, at the same time, found it expedient to announce his election, not to submit his claim to the Court of the Pontiff.[o] He wrote from the city of Spires, that he had received with due honour the Bishop of Sutri and the Abbot of St. Anastasia, the envoys of the Pope. He had only kept them in his court to witness the course of affairs. He sent them now to announce that by God's merciful guidance all had turned out in his favour, the obstacles to his elevation were rapidly disappearing; he entreated his Holiness to turn an attentive ear to their report. At the same time came an address from the princes and prelates; the list, both of ecclesiastics and laymen, contrasted strongly with the few names which had supported the address of Otho.

Philip Augustus of France supported the demands of Philip's partisans. Among the princes were the kings of

[n] Epist. i. 690; date probably May 20. [o] Spires, May 28.

Bohemia, the dukes of Saxony, Bavaria, Austria, Meran, and Lorraine, the margraves of Meissen, Brandenburg, and Moravia. The host of prelates was even more imposing. The archbishops of Magdeburg, of Treves (who had perhaps been bought back), and Besançon; the Bishops of Ratisbon, Freisingen, Augsburg, Constance, Eichstadt, Worms, Spires, Brixen, and Hildesheim, with a large number of abbots, Herzfeld, Tegernsee, Elwangen. These had signed, but there were besides assenting to the address, Otho the palatine of Burgundy (Philip's brother), the dukes of Zahringen and Carinthia, the margraves of Landsberg and Bohberg; the palgraves of Thuringia, Wittlesbach, and numberless other counts and nobles: the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Archbishop of Bremen, the Bishops of Verden, Halberstadt, Merseburg, Naumburg, Osnaburg, Bamburg, Passau, Coire, Trent, Metz, Toul, Verdun, Liège. There was submission, at the same time something of defiance and menace, in their language. They declared that they had no design to straiten the rights of the holy see; but they urged upon the Pope that he should not encroach on the rights of the Empire; they warned him against hostility towards Markwald the seneschal of the Empire, and declared themselves, with the Emperor at their head, ready after a short repose to undertake an expedition to Rome in great force.[p] The Pope replied to the princes and prelates that he had heard with sorrow of the contested election; he should be prepared to join the Emperor who had been elected lawfully; he should remember rather the good than the evil deeds of the Emperor; it was by no means his desire to trench on his temporal rights, but to act for the good of the empire as of the church. They would judge better of his proceedings against Markwald, when better informed, and when they had closed their ears against the calumniators of the Roman see.

[p] The date of this address of the German princes and prelates is of some importance. Hurter places it in 1199. It is dated at Spires, v. Kal. Jun. May 28. Georgish in his Regesta assigns it to 1198; but if so, it preceded the coronation both of Otho and Philip. Von Raumer places it in his text in 1199, in his note in 1198. Boehmer in 1200.

Conrad Archbishop of Mentz,[q] the Primate of Germany, of noble family, venerable for his age, his learning, and his character, had been absent in the Holy Land throughout all these proceedings. To him, supposing him to be yet in Palestine, Innocent addressed an epistle[r] which explained the state of the contest, manifestly with a strong bearing towards Otho; he declared that all his measures were for the greatness, not, as turbulent men asserted, for the destruction of the Empire. He enjoined him to send orders to his diocese, that all the officers, the ecclesiastics, and the barons dependent on the church of Mentz, should support the Emperor approved by the Holy See. Conrad had already set out for Europe, he passed through Rome; and Innocent, after a long conference, invested him in full authority to re-establish peace in Germany. The Primate, on his part, promised to come to no final determination without sending previous information to the Pope. On the arrival of Conrad in Germany both parties consented to a suspension of arms until St. Martin's Day.

May 3, 1199.

Nov. 6, 1199.

St. James's day, July 25.

Both contending parties sent ambassadors to Innocent. Those of Otho were urgent, imploring, submissive. In every respect would the religious Otho submit himself to the wishes of the Pope. The envoys of Philip were the provost of St. Thomas at Strasburg, and a subdeacon of the Roman church. Perhaps none of the great prelates would trust themselves or could be trusted on such a mission. To them Innocent seized the occasion of proclaiming in a full consistory of Cardinals the supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power. The whole of the Old Testament was cited to his purpose. The subordination of the kingship to the priesthood in Melchisedec and Abraham; the inferiority of the anointed to him who anoints; even Christ the anointed, is inferior as to his manhood, to the Father by whom he is anointed. Priests are called gods, kings princes; the one have power on earth, the other in heaven; one over the

Embassies to Rome. May 28, 1200.

[q] Conrad held the cardinal bishopric of S. Sabina, with the primacy of Mentz. —Epist. ii. 293.

[r] Epist. ii.

soul, the other over the body; the priesthood is as much more worthy than the kingship as the soul than the body. The priesthood is older than the kingship: God gave Israel, who had long had priests, kings in his wrath. Only among the heathen was the kingdom the older; yet even Baal, who ruled over Assyria after the building of the tower of Babel, was younger than Shem. Then came allusions to the fate of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, to the disunion of the priesthood by the wicked schismatic Jeroboam. From thence to modern times the transition was bold but easy. The happy times of Innocent II. and the Saxon Lothair and their triumph over Conrad and Anacletus were significantly adduced: "So truth ever subdues falsehood." The allusion to Frederick Barbarossa was even more fine and subtle. In him the Empire was united while the Church was divided; but the schism and he who fostered the schism were stricken to the earth. Now the Church is one, the Empire divided. It concluded with the assertion that the Pope had transferred the Empire from the East to the West, that the Empire is granted as an investiture by the Pope. "We will read the letter of your lord, we will consult with our brethren, and then give our answer; may God enable us to act wisely for His honour, the advantage of the Church, and the welfare of the Empire." In his reply to the princes of Germany, the leaning of Innocent against Philip, though yet slightly disguised, was more clearly betrayed. If he had the majority of voices and the possession of the regalia, on the other hand must be taken into account the illegality of his coronation, his excommunication by the Church from which he had but fraudulently obtained absolution; the design to make the Empire hereditary in his house. The Archbishop of Cologne was arraigned in no moderate terms for presuming to submit the question to the diet of the Empire without the Pope's previous consent.[8]

The assembly at Boppart in the previous year had come to nothing. Otho only appeared, neither Philip nor his supporters condescended to notice

June, 1099.

[8] Epist. vol. i. p. 691.

the summons. Again the war broke out, and raged with all its ferocity. Philip fell on the hereditary territories of the house of Guelf. The Archbishop of Magdeburg burned Helmstadt; Henry, the brother of Otho, ravaged the bishopric of Hildesheim, and threw himself into Brunswick, now besieged by Philip. Philip was obliged to withdraw with great loss and dishonour; he returned to the Rhine, where his ally the Bishop of Worms was wasting the country round his own city; he obtained a powerful ally in Conrad of Scharfeneck, the coadjutor of the Bishop of Spires. The death of the peaceful Primate, Conrad of Mentz, destroyed all hopes, if hopes there were, of composing the strife by amicable negociation. A double election for the primacy was the inevitable consequence of the all-pervading conflict. Hardly were the last obsequies paid to the remains of Conrad when the Chapter met. Both the elected prelates were men of noble German race. The partisans of Philip chose Leopold of the house of Schonfield, who had succeeded his uncle in the See of Worms. Leopold was a churchman, strong in mind, strong in body, vigorous and violent; no less distinguished for the qualities of a warlike leader than an able prelate; he had been engaged in the Italian wars, and at least had not restrained his soldiers in the plunder of churches: his enemies described him as a tyrant rather than a bishop; and such was his daring that he is said, somewhat later, with all the pomp of burning torches, to have excommunicated the Pope himself.[t] The opposite party elected Siegfried, of the house of Eppstein, but Mentz being in possession of their adversaries, they withdrew to Bingen to confirm their election.

Oct. 27.

Innocent now determined to assume openly the function of supreme arbiter in this great quarrel. The Cardinal Guido Pierleoni, Bishop of Palestrina, appeared in Germany with a Bull containing the full and elaborate judgment. This was the tenour of the Bull:— "It belongs to the Apostolic See to pass judgment on the election of the Emperor, both in the first and last resort;"[u]

Pope Innocent's deliberation.

[t] Cæsar. Heisterb. Dialog. Mirac. ii. 9.

[u] It was the Emperor, not the King of the Germans. Innocent, in theory,

in the first, because by her aid and on her account the Empire was transplanted from Constantinople; by her as the sole authority for this transplanting, on her behalf and for her better protection: in the last resort, because the Emperor receives the final confirmation of his dignity from the Pope; is consecrated, crowned, invested in the imperial dignity by him. That which must be sought is the lawful, the right, the expedient." Innocent proceeds to discuss at length the claims of the three kings,[x] the child (Frederick of Sicily), Philip, and Otho. He admits the lawful election, the oath twice taken, and once at least freely, by the Princes of the Empire to the young Frederick. "His cause it might seem incumbent on the Apostolic See, as the protector of the orphan, to maintain; and lest, when come to riper years, in his wrath at having been deprived of the Empire by the Papal decree, he should become hostile to the Pope and withdraw the kingdom of Naples from her allegiance to the Holy See. But, on the other hand, on whom did this election fall? to whom was this oath sworn? To one not merely incapable of ruling the Empire, but of doing anything; a child of two years old, a child not yet baptized." The Deliberation enlarges on the utter unfitness of a child for such a high office in such perilous times. "Woe unto the realm, saith the Scripture, whose king is a child. Dangerous, too, were it to the Church to unite the Empire with the kingdom of Sicily. Yet never will Frederick in riper years be able justly to reproach the See of Rome with having robbed him of his Empire; it is his own uncle who will have deprived him of that crown, of his paternal inheritance, and who is even endeavouring by his myrmidons to despoil him of his mother's kingdom, did not the holy Church keep watch and ward over his rights.[y]

"Neither can any objection be raised against the legality

held to this distinction. The Germans had full right to choose their king, but their king, being also by established usage Emperor, came under the direct cognizance of the Pope.—Epist. i. 697.

[x] According to M. Abel (Philip der Hohenstaufer), the Deliberatio was not a published document; at all events it contains the views and reasonings of Innocent. The results were to be communicated to the Princes of the Empire by his Legates.

[y] Remark this provident anticipation of Frederick's future cause of quarrel with the See of Rome, and the blame cast on his relative.

of the election of Philip. It rests upon the gravity, the dignity, the number of those who chose him. It may appear vindictive, and therefore unbecoming in us, because his father and his brother have been persecutors of the church to visit their sins on him. He is mighty too in territory, in wealth, in people; is it not to swim against the stream to provoke the enmity of the powerful against the Church, we who, if we favoured Philip, might enjoy that peace which it is our duty to ensue?

"Yet is it right that we should declare against him. Our predecessors have excommunicated him, justly, solemnly, and canonically: justly, because he has violently seized the patrimony of St. Peter; solemnly, in St. Peter's church on a high festivity during the sacrifice of the mass. He has obtained absolution, it is true, from our Legate, the Bishop of Sutri, but in direct contradiction to our express commands. Besides he is under the ban pronounced against Markwald and all, Germans as well as Italians, who are his partisans. It is moreover notorious that he swore fealty to the child; he is guilty therefore of perjury: he may allege that we have declared that oath null; but the Israelites, when they would be released from their oath concerning Gibeon, first consulted the Lord; so should he first have consulted us, who can alone absolve from oaths. But if father shall succeed to son, brother to brother, the Empire ceases to be elective, it becomes hereditary; and in what house would the Empire be perpetuated?—a house in which one persecutor of the church succeeds to another. The first Henry who rose to the Empire (the Pope goes back to king Henry V., with whom the Hohenstaufen had but remote connexion), violently and perfidiously laid hands on Pope Paschal, of holy memory, who had crowned him; imprisoned him with his cardinals, whom he threatened to murder, until Paschal, in fear for Henry not for himself, appeased the madman by concession. The said Henry chose an heresiarch as an Antipope, set up an idol against the Church of Rome, so that the schism lasted till the time of Pope Calixtus. From this house came Frederick, who promised to subdue the rebellious Tiburtines to the

See of Rome, but retained them as liegemen of the Empire, and threatened our ancestor the Chancellor Alexander, who asserted the rights of St. Peter, that if it were in the church of St. Peter he should feel how sharp-edged were the swords of the Germans; who plotted to dethrone Pope Hadrian, alleging that he was the son of a priest; who fomented a long schism against Alexander; deceived and besieged Pope Lucius in Verona. His son and successor Henry was accursed even on his accession, for he invaded and wasted the lands of St. Peter, and in contempt of the Church cut off the noses of some of the servants of our brother. He took the murderers of Bishop Albert among his followers, and bestowed large fiefs upon them. He caused the Bishop of Osimo, because he declared that he held his see of the apostolic throne, to be struck on the mouth, to have his beard plucked out, with other shameless indignities. By his commands Conrad put our honoured brother the Bishop of Ostia in chains, and rewarded his sacrilege with lands and honours; he prohibited all appeals from the clergy to Rome throughout the kingdom of Sicily. As to Philip himself, he has ever been an obstinate persecutor of the church; he called himself Duke of Tuscany and Campania, and claimed all the lands up to the gates of the city; he is endeavouring even now by the support of Markwald and of Diephold to deprive us of our kingdom of Sicily. If, while his power was yet unripe, he so persecuted the holy church, what would he do if Emperor? It behoves us to oppose him before he has reached his full strength. That the sins of the father are visited on th sons, we know from holy writ, we know from many examples, Saul, Jeroboam, Baasha." The Pope exhausts the Old Testament in his precedents.

"Now, as to Otho. It may seem not just to favour his cause because he was chosen but by a minority; not becoming, because it may seem that the Apostolic chair acts not so much from goodwill towards him, as from hatred of the others; not expedient because he is less powerful. But as the Lord abases the proud, and lifts up the humble, as he raised David to the throne, so it is

just, befitting, expedient, that we bestow our favour upon Otho. Long enough have we delayed, and laboured for unity by our letters and our envoys; it beseems us no longer to appear as if we were waiting the issue of events, as if like Peter we were denying the truth which is Christ; we must therefore publicly declare ourselves for Otho, himself devoted to the Church, of a race devoted to the Church, by his mother's side from the royal house of England, by his father from the Duke of Saxony, all, especially his ancestor the Emperor Lothair, the loyal sons of the Church; him, therefore we proclaim, acknowledge as king; him then we summon to take on himself the imperial crown."

Innocent, now committed in the strife, plunged into it with all the energy and activity of his character. To every order, to the archbishops, bishops and clergy, to the princes and nobles, to every distinguished individual, the Archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg, the Archbishop of Aquileia, the Palgrave of the Rhine, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the King of Bohemia, the Counts of Flanders and of Brabant, were addressed letters from the See of Rome, admonitory, persuasive, or encouraging, according to their attachment or aversion to the cause of Otho. The Legate in France had directions to break off, if possible, the alliance of Philip Augustus with the Duke of Swabia:[a] John of England was urged to take more active measures in favour of Otho; the Cardinal Bishop of Palestrina crossed the Alps with his co-legate the Brother Philip; he had an interview in Champagne with the legate in France, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. They proceeded to Liège, from thence to Aix-la-Chapelle. At Neuss Otho appeared before the three Papal legates, and took an oath of fidelity to the Pope couched in the strongest terms. He swore to maintain all the territories, fiefs, and rights of the See of Rome, granted by all the Emperors down- January, March.

[a] Rather later the Pope endeavours to alarm Philip Augustus. Philip (the Emperor), he says, had claimed the guardianship of Frederick II. and the possession of Sicily. If he had gained this "in superbiam elatus aliud cogitaret, et *regnum* Francorum sibi disponeret subjugare, sicut olim disposuerat frater ejus Henricus."—Epist. i. 717. Did Innocent believe this?

wards, from Louis the Pious; to maintain the Pope in the possessions which he now holds, to assist him in obtaining those which he does not now occupy; to render the Pope that honour and obedience which has ever been rendered by the pious Catholic Emperors. He swore to conduct himself as to the affairs of the Roman people, the Lombard and Tuscan leagues, according to the Pope's counsel, as also in any treaty of peace with the King of France. "If on my account the Church of Rome is involved in war, I will aid it with money. This oath shall be renewed both by word of mouth and in writing when I shall receive the imperial crown." The Cardinal Guido departed to Cologne; he proclaimed with the applause of Otho's partisans, Otho Emperor in the name of Innocent. He awaited the concourse of prelates and nobles which he had summoned to Cologne: few came; some even of the bishops closed their doors against the messengers of the Legate. Again he summoned them to Corvey, and began to threaten the interdict. From thence he went to Bingen, where he spoke more openly of the interdict. From Bingen letters were written to the Pope, describing the progress of Otho's affairs as triumphant. "Nothing now is heard of Philip and his few partisans; with him as under God's displeasure every thing fails, he can gather no army; while Otho will soon appear at the head of 100,000 men." The Cardinal could hardly intend to deceive the Pope, he was no doubt himself deceived. At that very time were assembled at Bamberg, the Archbishops of Magdeburg and Bremen, the Bishops of Worms, Passau, Ratisbon, Constance, Augsburg, Eichstadt, Havelberg, Brandenberg, Meissen, Naumburg, and Bamberg; the Abbots of Fulda, Herzfeld, and Kempten; the King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Saxony, Austria, Steyermark, Meran, Zahringen, the "Stadtholder of Burgundy," and a number of other princes. They expressed themselves in terms of which the contemptuousness was but lightly veiled. They refused to believe (reason would not admit, loyal simplicity would not believe) that the unseemly language which the Bishop

The Legate proclaims Otho. June 8, 1201.

June 29. Otho's Diet at Cologne.

Sept. 8, 1201.

Philip's Diet at Bamberg.

of Palestrina, who gave himself out as the Legate of the Pope, presumed to hold regarding the Empire, had been authorized by the admirable wisdom of the Pope, or the honoured conclave of the Cardinals. "Who has ever heard of such presumption? What proof can be adduced for pretensions, of which history, authentic documents, and even fable itself is silent? Where have ye read, ye Popes! where have ye heard, ye Cardinals! that your predecessors or your legates have dared to mingle themselves up with the election of a king of the Romans, either as electors, or as judges. The election of the Pope indeed required the assent of the Emperor, till Henry I. in his generosity removed that limitation. How dares his holiness the Pope to stretch forth his hand to seize that which belongs not to him? There is no higher council in a contested election for the Empire, than the Princes of the Empire. Jesus Christ has separated spiritual from temporal affairs. He who serves God should not mingle in worldly matters; he who aims at worldly power is unworthy of spiritual supremacy. Punish, therefore, most holy Father, the Bishop of Palestrina for his presumption, acknowledge Philip whom we have chosen, and, *as it is your duty*, prepare to crown him."

Innocent replied in somewhat less dictatorial and imperious language; "it was not his intention to interfere with the rights of the electors, but it was his right, his duty, to examine and to prove the fitness of him whom he had solemnly to consecrate and to crown."[a] His Legates had instructions to proceed with the greatest caution, to pause before they proclaimed the direct excommunication of the great prelates of the realm. These prelates were already under the ban, which comprehended the partisans of Philip. But of the virtual or direct excommunication they were equally contemptuous: not a prelate was estranged from Philip or attached to Otho, by the terror of the Papal censures. This array of almost all the great

Nov. 2.

[a] Non enim elegimus nos personam, sed electo ab eorum parte majori (Innocent had up to this time acknowledged the election of Philip to have been by a minority) qui vocem habere in imperatoris electione noscuntur, et ubi debuit, et a quo debuit coronato, favorem præstitimus et præstamus.—Epist. i. 711.

ecclesiastics of Germany against the Pope during this whole contest is remarkable, but intelligible enough. Almost all the richer and more powerful Bishopries were held by sons or kinsmen of the noble houses; they were German princes as well as German prelates. The survey of the order shows at once the ecclesiastical state of the realm, and unfolds the nature of the strife. The rivals for the Primacy, the Archbishopric of Mentz, were both of noble houses—Leopold of the house of Schonfeld, Siegfried of that of Eppstein. Leopold's ambition was to retain the Bishopric of Worms with that of Mentz. The Pope at once repudiated this monstrous demand, irrespective of the ulterior claims to the Primacy, which he adjudged to Siegfried. But the Chapter of Mentz, with three exceptions, were for Leopold and Philip (it was the same cause to them). Mentz long refused to open her gates to the Pope's Primate. Leopold, warlike, enterprising, restless, seems to have nourished a mortal hatred to Innocent; he threw back, as has been said, the ban of the Pope, and solemnly excommunicated the successor of St. Peter; and at length, leaving both the See to which he aspired and that which he actually possessed, he descended into Italy, in order to instigate the cities of Romagna to throw off the Papal yoke. The banner of the Archbishop of Mentz floated in the van of the anti-Papal army. In many of these cities the Bishop of Worms met with success; and hence, when after the death of Philip a general amnesty was granted to his civil and ecclesiastical partisans, Leopold only was excluded, and abandoned to the vengeance of the Pope. Such was the state of the Primacy; like the Empire, an object of fierce and irreconcileable strife. The Archbishop of Treves, timid, avaricious, and time-serving, was on the side which paid him best. He had been inclined to Otho, then fell off to Philip. At one time he offered to resign his See, and then, being supported by the inhabitants of Treves, declared for Philip. He was excommunicated by the Legate; the Archbishop of Cologne empowered to seize his domains; yet even when he was bought to the party of Philip, he made excuses to elude a public meeting and

acknowledgment of the Emperor. Adolph, Archbishop of Cologne, had raised Otho to the Empire, crowned him in Aix-la-Chapelle; he had been the soul of the confederacy; but already there were dark rumours of his treachery and meditated revolt. That revolt took place at length; but wealthy Cologne repudiated her perfidious Prelate, maintained her fidelity to Otho, declared Adolph deposed, and elected a new Prelate, the Bishop of Bonn. The Archbishop of Salzburg was for Philip; he was held in such high respect that to him was entrusted the protestation of the Diet of Bamberg; he alone, at a later period, seemed worked upon by the Papal influence to incline somewhat more to the cause of Otho. The Archbishop of Bremen in his remote diocese contented himself with a more quiet support of Philip; the Archbishop of Magdeburg was unmoved alike by the friendly overtures of Innocent, and by the excommunication of the Legate. The Archbishop of Besançon received Philip with the utmost pomp, led him to his cathedral, and gave him all the honours of an Emperor. The Archbishop of Tarantaise had officiated at the coronation of Philip. The Bishops of Bamberg, Halberstadt, Spires, Passau, Eichstadt, Freisingen openly showed their contempt for the Papal mandates; the three latter, in defiance of the Pope, maintained the right of the Bishop of Worms to the Primacy. The Bishop of Spires seized two servants of the Pope, imprisoned one and threatened to hang the other. The Archbishops of Besançon and Tarantaise, the Bishops of Spires and Passau were cited to Rome to answer for their conduct; they paid not the least regard to the summons. The murder of the Bishop of Wurtzburg is a more frightful illustration of the state of things. Conrad of Rabensberg was related by his mother to the house of Hohenstaufen; he had been appointed Chancellor of the Empire by Henry. He was on his way to the Crusade, when he heard that the Chapter of Hildesheim had chosen him their Bishop. He fulfilled his vow. On his return he found that he had been elected Bishop of Wurtzburg. Conrad was tempted by the wealthier see, which was in the neighbourhood of the house of his race. He would willingly have retained both.

So important was his support to Philip, that he was confirmed in the office of Chancellor, and received the gift of the castle of Sternberg. Innocent ordered the Archbishop of Mentz to take possession of the estates of Wurtzburg; issued orders to the Archbishop of Magdeburg to interdict Conrad in the diocese of Hildesheim, and to command the Chapter to proceed to a new election. Yet there were secret intimations, that a man of his high character and position might find favour in Rome. To Rome he went; he returned Bishop of Wurtzburg; and if not now an opponent, but a lukewarm partisan of Philip. He was threatened with the loss of his dignity as Chancellor,[b] perhaps became the object of persecution. His murder was an act of private revenge. He had determined to put down the robbers and disturbers of the peace round Wurtzburg. One of the house of Rabensburg presumed on his relationship to claim an exception from this decree: he was beheaded by the inflexible Conrad. The kinsman of the executed robber, Bodo of Rabensburg, and Henry Hund of Falkenberg, resented this act of unusual severity. Two of their followers stole into Wurtzburg, murdered the Bishop on his way to church, and mutilated his body. When Philip came to Wurtzburg, the clergy and people showed him the hand of the murdered Bishop and demanded vengeance.[c] Philip gave no redress: he was charged with more than indifference to the fate of a Bishop who had fallen off to Otho. The citizens broke out, took and razed the castles of the suborners of the murder. These men fled to Rome, confessed their sin, and submitted to penance.[d] The penance is characteristic of the age; it was a just but life-long martyrdom. They were to show themselves naked, as far as decency would permit, and with a halter round their necks, in the cathedral of every city in Germany, through which lay their way from Rome, till they reached Wurtzburg. There, on the four great feasts, and on the day of St. Kilian the tutelar saint of the city, they must appear and undergo the discipline of flagellation.

Dec. 3, 1202.

[b] Compare Innocent's letters.—Reg. i. 201; i. 223. He is called Chancellor at the time of his murder.

[c] Arnold Lubec.—Leibnitz, ii. 726.

[d] Raynald. sub ann. 1203.

They might not bear arms, but against the enemies of the faith, nor wear rich attire. Four years they were to serve, but in the garb of penitence, in the Holy Land. All their life they were to fast and pray, to receive the Eucharist only on their death-bed.[e]

For ten dreary years, with but short intervals of truce, Germany was abandoned to all the horrors of civil war.[f] The repeated protestations of Innocent, that he was not the cause of these fatal discords, betray the fact that he was accused of the guilt; and that he had to wrestle with his own conscience to acquit himself of the charge. It was a war not of decisive battles, but of marauding, desolation, havock, plunder, wasting of harvests, ravaging open and defenceless countries; war waged by Prelate against Prelate, by Prince against Prince; wild Bohemians and bandit soldiers of every race were roving through every province. Throughout the land there was no law: the highroads were impassable on account of robbers; traffic cut off, except on the great rivers from Cologne down the Rhine, from Ratisbon down the Danube; nothing was spared, nothing sacred, church or cloister. Some monasteries were utterly impoverished; some destroyed. The ferocities of war grew into brutalities; the clergy, and sacred persons, were the victims and perpetrators. The wretched nun, whose ill-usage has been related, was no doubt only recorded because her fate was somewhat more horrible than that of many of her sisters. The Abbot of St. Gall seized six of the principal burghers of Arbon, and cut off their feet, in revenge for one of his servants, who had suffered the like mutilation for lopping wood in their forests.

Ten years' war. A.D. 1198-1208.

Innocent seemed threatened with the deep humiliation of having provoked, inflamed, kept up this disastrous strife

[e] The inscription on the place of the murder—

Hic procumbo solo, sceleri quia parcere nolo,
Vulnera facta dolo dant habitare polo.
Böhmer. Fontes. i. 36.

[f] Thus says Walther der Vogelweide—

Zu Rom hört ich lügen,
Zwei könige betrügen;
Das gab den aller-grösten Streit,
Der jemals ward in aller Zeit,
Da sah man sich entzweien
Die Pfaffen und die Laien.
Die Noth war über alle Noth:
Da logen Leib und Seele todt.
Die Pfaffen wurden Krieger,
Die Laien blieben Sieger,
Das Schwert sie legten aus der Hand,
Und griffen zu der Stola Band,
Sie bannten wen sie wollten,
Nicht den sie bannen sollten.
Zerstört war manches Gottes haus.
Simrock, p. 174; *Lachmann*, 9; *Hurter*, ii. 98.

only for his own and his Emperor's discomfiture and defeat. Year after year the cause of Otho became more doubtful; the exertions, the intrigues, the promises, the excommunications of Rome became more unavailing. The revolt of the Archbishop of Cologne gave a fatal turn:[g] the example of Adolph's perfidy and tergiversation wrought widely among Otho's most powerful partisans. There were few, on Otho's side at least, who had not changed their party; Otho's losses were feebly compensated by the defections from the ranks of Philip. At the close of the ten years the contest had become almost hopeless; even the inflexible Innocent was compelled to betray signs of remorse, of reconciliation, of accepting Philip as Emperor, of abandoning Otho,[h] of recanting all his promises, struggling out of his vows of implacable enmity, of perpetual alliance. Negotiations had begun, Philip's ambassadors were received in Rome: two Legates, Leo the Cardinal Priest of Santa Croce, Cardinal Ugolino Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, were in Worms: Philip swore to subject himself in all things to the Pope. Philip was solemnly absolved from his excommunication. At Metz the Papal Legates beheld the victorious Emperor celebrate his Christmas with kingly splendour.[i] From this abasing position Innocent was relieved by the crime of one man. The assassination of Philip by Otho of Wittlesbach placed Otho at once on the throne.

Innocent obliged to acknowledge Philip.

Nov. 11, 1204.

June, 1206.

Aug. 1207.

Christmas, 1207.

Murder of Philip.

The crime of Otho of Wittlesbach sprang from private revenge. Otho was one of the fiercest and most lawless chieftains of these lawless times; brave beyond most men, and so far true and loyal to the house of Swabia. Philip had at least closed his eyes at one murder committed by Otho of Wittlesbach. He had promised him his

[g] Two grants (Böhmer's Regesta sub ann. 1205) show the price paid for the archbishop's perfidy.

[h] Compare Otho's desperate letter of covert reproach to Innocent, Epist. i. 754. Innocent's letter to the Archbishop of Saltzburg betrays something like shame, i. 748. In 1205 Innocent reproached the bishops and prelates of Otho's party—ex eo quod nobilis vir Dux Sueciæ visus est aliquantulum prosperare, contra honestatem propriam et fidem præstitam venientes, relicto eo cui prius adhæserant, ejus adversario adhærent.—Epist. i. 742.

[i] Reg. Imp. Chron. Ursberg.—Epist. i. 750, of Nov. 1. Compare Abel. Philip. der Hohenstaufer, p. 211.

daughter in marriage; but the father's gentle heart was moved; he alleged some impediment of affinity to release her from the union with this wild man. Otho then aspired to the daughter of the Duke of Poland. He demanded letters of recommendation from the King Philip. He set forth with them, but some mistrust induced him to have them opened and read; he found that Philip had, generously to the Duke of Poland, perfidiously as he thought to himself, warned the Duke as to the ungovernable character of Otho. He vowed vengeance. On St. Alban's day Philip at Bamberg had been celebrating the nuptials of his niece with the Duke of Meran. He was reposing, having been bled, in the heat of the day, on a couch in the palace of the Bishop. Otho appeared with sixteen followers at the door, and demanded audience as on some affair of importance; he entered the chamber brandishing his sword. "Lay down that sword," said Philip, with a scornful reproach of perfidy: Wittlesbach struck Philip on the neck. Three persons were present, the Chancellor, the Truchsess of Waldburg, and an officer of the royal chamber. The Chancellor ran to hide himself, the other two endeavoured to seize Otho; the Truchsess bore an honourable scar for life, which he received in his attempt to bolt the door. Otho passed out, leaped on his horse and fled. So died the gentlest, the most popular of the house of Swabia.[k] The execration of all mankind, the ban of the Empire pursued the murderer. The castle of Wittlesbach was levelled with the ground, not one stone left on another: on its site was built a church, dedicated to the Virgin. The assassin was at length discovered, after many wanderings and it is said deep remorse of mind, in a stable, and put to death with many wounds.

[k] Philip had been compelled during the long war grievously to weaken the power of his house by alienating the domains which his predecessors had accumulated. Hic cum non haberet pecunias quibus salaria sive solda præberet militibus, primus cœpit distrahere prædia, quæ pater suus Fredericus imperator late acquisierat in Alemanniâ; sicque factum est ut nihil sibi remaneret præter inane nomen dominii terræ, et curtales seu villas in quibus fora habentur et pauca castella terræ.—Chron. Ursberg. 311. The poems of Walther der Vogelweide are the best testimony to the gentleness and popularity of Philip. See der Pfaffen Wahl, p. 180; especially Die Milde, 184. Simrock.

CHAPTER III.

INNOCENT AND THE EMPEROR OTHO IV.

Otho was now undisputed Emperor; a diet at Frankfort, more numerous than had met for many years, acknowledged him with almost unprecedented unanimity. He held great diets at Nuremberg, Brunswick, Wurtzburg, Spires. He descended the next year over the Brenner into Italy to receive the Imperial crown. Throughout Italy the Guelphic cities opened their gates to welcome the Champion of the Church, the Emperor chosen by the Pope, with universal acclamation: old enemies seemed to forget their feuds in his presence, tributary gifts were poured lavishly at his feet.

Otho Emperor.

The Pope and his Emperor met at Viterbo; they embraced, they wept tears of joy, in remembrance of their common trials, in transport at their common triumph. Innocent's compulsory abandonment of Otho's cause was forgotten: the Pope demanded security that Otho would surrender, immediately after his coronation, the lands of the Church, now occupied by his troops. Otho almost resented the suspicion of his loyalty; and Innocent in his blind confidence abandoned his demand.

The coronation took place in St. Peter's church with more than usual magnificence and solemnity; magnificence which became this unwonted friendship between the temporal and spiritual powers; solemnity which was enhanced by the lofty character and imposing demeanour of Innocent. The Imperial crown was on the head of Otho; and—almost from that moment the Emperor and the Pope were implacable enemies. Otho has at once forgotten his own prodigal acknowledgment: "All I have been, all I am, all I ever shall be, after God, I owe to you and the Church."[a] Already the evening before the

Oct. 24.

[a] Quod hactenus fuimus, quod sumus et quod erimus . . . totum vobis et Romanæ ecclesiæ post Deum debere . . . . gratantissime recognoscimus.—Regest. Ep. 161.

coronation, an ill-omened strife had arisen between the populace of Rome and the German soldiery: the Bishop of Augsburg had been mishandled by the rabble. That night broke out a fiercer fray; much blood was shed; so furious was the attack of the Romans even on the German knights, that 1100 horses are set down as the loss of Otho's army: the number of men killed does not appear. Otho withdrew in wrath from the city; he demanded redress of the Pope, which Innocent was probably less able than willing to afford. After some altercation by messengers on each side, they had one more friendly interview, the last, in the camp of Otho.

The Emperor marched towards Tuscany; took possession of the cities on the frontier of the territory of the Countess Matilda, Montefiascone, Acquapendente, Radicofani.[b] He summoned the magistrates and the learned in the law, and demanded their judgment as to the rights of the Emperor to the inheritance of the Countess Matilda. They declared that the Emperor had abandoned those rights in ignorance, that the Emperor might resume them at any time. He entered Tuscany: Sienna, San Miniato, Florence, Lucca, above all, Ghibelline Pisa, opened their gates.[c] He conferred privileges or established ancient rights. He proceeded to the Dukedom of Spoleto, in which he invested Berthold, one of his followers. Dec. 24. Diephold came from the south of Italy to offer his allegiance; he received as a reward the principality of Salerno. He attempted Viterbo. He had his emissaries to stir up again the imperial faction in Rome. He cut off all communication with Rome, even ecclesiastics proceeding on their business to the Pope were robbed. Vain were the most earnest appeals to his gratitude, even the most earnest expostulations, the most awful admonitions, excommunication itself. Otho had learned that, when on his own side, Papal censures, Papal interdicts might be defied with impunity.

[b] Chronic. Ursberg. Ric. de S. Germ. spreto juramento. At Spires (March 22) Otho had solemnly guaranteed the patrimony of St. Peter.—Epist. Innocent. i. 762.

[c] Otho's acts are dated in almost every great city in Italy—Florence, Lucca, Pisa, Terni, Ravenna, Ferrara, Parma, Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Brescia, Vercelli, Piacenza, Modena, Todi, Reate, Sora, Capua, Aversa, Veroli, Bologna.

After all his labours, after all his hazards, after all his sacrifices, after all his perils, even his humiliations, Innocent had raised up to himself a more formidable antagonist, a more bitter foe than even the proudest and most ambitious of the Hohenstaufen. Otho openly laid claim to the kingdom of Apulia; master of Tuscany and Romagna, at peace with the Lombard League, he seized Orvieto, Perugia. He prepared, he actually commenced a war for the subjugation of Naples. The galleys of Pisa and Genoa were at his command; Diephold and others of the old German warriors, settled in the kingdom of Apulia, entered into his alliance.

His successes in the kingdom of Naples but inflamed his ambition; he would now add Sicily to his dominions, and expel the young Frederick, the last of the house of Hohenstaufen. It might seem almost in despair that Innocent at length, on Holy Thursday,[d] uttered the solemn excommunication: he commanded the patriarchs of Grado and Aquileia, the Archbishops of Ravenna, Milan, and Genoa, and all the Bishops of Italy to publish the ban. Otho treated this last act of sovereign spiritual authority with utter indifference. Every thing seemed to menace Innocent, and even the Papal power itself. In Rome insurrection seemed brooding for an outbreak; while Innocent himself was preaching on a high festival, John Capocio, one of his old adversaries, broke the respectful silence:—"Thy words are God's words, thy acts the acts of the devil!"

A.D. 1211.

But Otho knew not how far reached the power of Innocent and of the Church. While Italy seemed to submit to his sway, his throne in Germany was crumbling into dust. For nearly three years, three years of unwonted peace, he had been absent from Germany. But he left in Germany an unfavourable impression of his pride, and of his insatiable thirst for wealth and power. Siegfrid Archbishop of Mentz, more grateful to the Pope than Otho, for his firm protection in his days of weakness and disaster, accepted the legatine commission,

Aug. 1209. March, 1212.

[d] According to some accounts it was uttered, perhaps threatened, on the octave of St. Martin (Nov. 18, 1210).—Chronic. Ursberg. Ric. de San Germ.

and with the legatine commission, orders to publish the excommunication throughout Germany. The kindred, the friends of the Hohenstaufen, heard with joy that the Pope had been roused out of his infatuated attachment to their enemy; rumours were industriously spread abroad that Otho meditated a heavy taxation of the Empire, not excepting the lands of the monasteries; that as he had expressed himself contemptuously of the clergy, refusing them their haughty titles, he now proposed to enact sumptuary laws to limit their pomp. The archbishop was to travel but with twelve horses, the bishop with six, the abbot with three. By rapid degrees grew up a formidable confederacy, of which Innocent no doubt had instant intelligence, of which his influence was the secret moving power. Even in Italy there were some cities already in open hostility, in declared alliance with Innocent and Frederick. At Lodi Otho declared Genoa, Cremona, Ferrara, the Margrave Azzo under the ban of the Empire.[a] At Nuremberg met the Primate and the Archbishop of Treves for once venturing on a bold measure, the Archbishop of Magdeburg, the Chancellor of the Empire, the Bishop of Spires, the Bishop of Basle, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the King of Bohemia, all the other nobles attached to the house of Swabia. They inveighed against the pride of Otho, his ingratitude and hostility to the Pope; on the internal wars which again threatened the peace of Germany. The only remedy was his deposal, and the choice of another Emperor. That Emperor must be the young Frederick of Sicily, the heir of the great house, whom in evil hour they had dispossessed of the succession: to him they had sworn allegiance in his cradle, to the violation of that oath might be attributed much of the afflictions and disasters of the realm. Two brave and loyal Swabian knights, Anselm of Justingen and Henry of Niffen, were deputed and amply furnished with funds, to invite the young Frederick to resume his ancestral throne.

Ascension Day.

A.D. 1211.

Anselm and his companions arrived at Rome. Inno-

[a] Francisc. Pepin. Murat. ix. 640. Galvan. Flamma, xi. 664. Sicard. Crem. vii. p. 813.

cent dissembled his joy;[f] he hesitated indeed to become a Ghibelline Pope; he could not but remember the ancient, rooted, inveterate oppugnancy of the house of Hohenstaufen to the See of Rome. But fear and resentment for the ingratitude of Otho prevailed; he might hope that Frederick would respect the guardianship of the Pope, guardianship which had exercised but questionable care over its ward. The Swabians passed on to Palermo; they communicated the message of the diet at Nuremberg; they laid the Empire before the feet of Frederick, now but seventeen years old. Frederick even at that age seemed to unite the romantic vivacity of the Italian, and the gallantry of his Norman race, with something of German intrepidity; he had all the accomplishments, and all the knowledge of the day; he spoke Latin, Italian, German, French, Greek, Arabic; he was a poet: how could he resist such an offer? There was the imperial crown to be won by bold adventure; revenge on Otho, who had threatened to invade his kingdom of Sicily; the restoration of his ancestral house to all its ancestral grandeur. The tender remonstrances of his wife,[g] who bore at this time his first-born son; the grave counsels of the Sicilian nobles, reluctant that Sicily should become a province of the Empire, who warned him against the perfidy of the Germans, the insecure fidelity of the Pope, were alike without effect.[h] He hastened to desert his sunny Palermo for cold Germany; to leave his gay court for a life of wild enterprise; all which was so congenial to the natural impulses of his character, to war with his age, which he was already beyond. Ever after Frederick looked back upon his beloved Sicily with fond regret; there, whenever he could, he established his residence, it was his own native realm, the home of his affections, of his enjoyments.

Oct. 1211.

The Emperor Otho heard of the proceedings in Germany; he hurried with all speed to repress the threaten-

[f] Qui licet hoc bene vellet, tamen dissimulavit.—Rigord.

[g] Frederick had been married *at fifteen* to Constantia, widow of K. Emeric of Hungary, daughter of Alfonso King of Arragon, in Aug. 1209. Henry VII. was born early in 1212.

[h] Chronic. Ursberg. Chronic. Foss. Nov. Murat. vii. 887.

ing revolt.[l] As he passed through Italy, he could not but remark the general estrangement; almost everywhere his reception was sullen, cold, compulsorily hospitable.[k] The whole land was prepared to fall off. Appalling contrast to his triumphant journey but two or three years before! In Germany it was still more gloomy and threatening. He summoned a diet at Frankfort; eighty nobles of all orders assembled, one bishop, the Bishop of Halberstadt.[m] Siegfrid of Mentz, now Papal Legate, with Albert of Magdeburg, declared the Archbishop of Cologne, Dietrich of Heinsberg, deposed from his see under the pretext of his oppression of the clergy and the monks. Adolph, the former archbishop, the most powerful friend, the most traitorous enemy of Otho, appeared in the city, was welcomed with open arms by the clergy, resumed the see, as he declared, with the sanction of the Pope. War, desolating lawless war, broke out again throughout Germany. The Duke of Brabant, on Otho's retreat, surprised Liège; plundered, massacred, respected not the churches; their altars were stripped, their pavements ran with blood: a knight dressed himself in the bishop's robes and went through a profane mockery of ordination to some of his freebooting comrades. The bishop was compelled to take an oath of allegiance. He soon fled and pronounced an interdict against the Duke and his lands. The Pope absolved him from his oath.

March 4. 1212.

Feb. 27, 1211.

May 3.

Otho made a desperate attempt to propitiate the adherents of the house of Swabia. In Nordhausen he celebrated with great pomp his nuptials with Beatrice the daughter of the Emperor Philip, to whom he had been long betrothed. This produced only more bitter hatred. Four days after the marriage Beatrice

Aug. 7, 1212.

[l] Otho cum totam fere sibi Apuliam subjugasset, audito quod quidam Italiæ principes ibi rebellaverant mandato apostolico, regnum festinus egreditur mense Novembris. — Ric. S. Germ. Chron. Foss. Nov. Francisc. Pepin.

[k] Gravis Italicis, Alemannis gravior, fines attigit Alemanniæ; a nullo uti principi occurritur, nulli gratus excipitur.—Conrad de Fabaria, Canon S. Galli, Pertz, xi. p. 170. The author, a monk of S. Gall, describes Frederick's reception at his monastery.

[m] Ubi octaginta principes ei occurrerunt *multum flenti* et de rege *Franciæ* conquerenti . . . Ubi curiæ archepiscopi et episcopi pauci interfuerunt, eo quod de mandato domini Papæ eum excommunicatum denunciaverant. — Rem. Leod. apud Martene, v.

died. The darkest rumours spread abroad: she had been poisoned by the Italian mistresses of Otho.

Frederick in the mean time, almost without attendants, with nothing which could call itself an army, set off to win the imperial crown in Germany. At Rome he was welcomed by the Pope, the Cardinals, and the senate. He received from Pope Innocent counsel, sanction, and some pecuniary aid for his enterprise. Four galleys of Genoa conveyed him with his retinue from Ostia to that city, placed under the ban of the Empire by Otho. Milan was faithful to her hatred of the Hohenstaufen;[n] he dared not venture into her territory; the passes of Savoy were closed against him; he stole from friendly Pavia to friendly Cremona. He arrived safe at the foot of the pass of Trent, but the descent into the Tyrol was guarded by Otho's partisans. He turned obliquely, by difficult, almost untrodden passes, and dropped down upon Coire. Throughout his wanderings the Archbishop of Bari was his faithful companion. Arnold, Bishop of Coire, in defiance of the hostile power of Como, which belonged to the league of Milan, welcomed him with loyal hospitality. The warlike Abbot of St. Gall had sworn, on private grounds, deep hatred to Otho: he received Frederick with open arms. At St. Gall he heard that Otho was hastening with his troops to occupy Constance. At the head of the knights, the liegemen of the Abbot of St. Gall, Frederick made a rapid descent, and reached Constance three hours before the forces of Otho. The wavering Bishop, Conrad of Tegernfeld, declared against the excommunicated Otho; Constance closed its gates against him. That rapid movement won Frederick the Empire. At Basle he was welcomed by the Bishop of Strasburg at the head of 1500 knights. All along the Rhine Germany declared for him; he had but to wait the dissolution of Otho's power; it crumbled away of itself. The primate Siegfrid of Mentz, secured Mentz and Frankfort; even Leopold the deposed

March, 1212.

May 1 to July 9.

August.

[n] Compare letter of Innocent rebuking Milan for her attachment to Otho—reprobo et ingrato, immo Deo et hominibus odioso, qui nunquam nisi mala pro bonis retribuit.—Epist. ii. 692. Oct. 21, 1212.

Bishop of Worms, the rival Archbishop of Mentz, the turbulent and faithful partisan of the house of Hohenstaufen, was permitted to resume his See of Worms.[o] Frederick was chosen Emperor at Frankfort: held his court at Ratisbon. Otho retired to his patrimonial domains in Saxony; he was still strong in the north of Germany; the south acknowledged Frederick. On the lower Rhine were some hostilities, but between the rivals for the Empire there was no great battle. The cause of Frederick was won by Philip Augustus of France. Philip had welcomed, and had entered into a close alliance with Frederick.[p] The King of England, the Count of Flanders, and the other Princes of the Lower Rhine arrayed themselves in league with Otho. The fatal battle of Bouvines broke almost the last hopes of Otho; he retired again to Brunswick; made one bold incursion, and with the aid of the Bishop Waldemar seized on Hamburgh. But to his enemies was now added the King of Denmark. Again he retreated to the home of his fathers, passed the last three years of life in works of piety and the foundation of religious houses. Long before his death Frederick had received the royal crown from the hands of Siegfrid of Mentz at Aix-la-Chapelle. He was now undisputed King and Emperor, in amity with the Church; amity, hereafter to give place to the most obstinate, most fatal strife, which had yet raged between the successor of St. Peter and the successor of the Cæsars.

Dec. 2. Feb. 2. May 27, 1214. A.D. 1215. July 25. May 19, 1217.

[o] Leopold had been absolved before Philip's death, Nov. 1207. Epist. Innocent, i. 731.

[p] Frederick had an interview with Louis, elder son of Philip, between Vancoleur and Tours, Nov. 1212.

CHAPTER IV.

INNOCENT AND PHILIP AUGUSTUS OF FRANCE.

The kingdom of France under Philip Augustus almost began to be a monarchy. The crown had risen in strength and independence above the great vassals who had till now rivalled and controlled its authority. The Anglo-Norman dukedom, which in the extent of its territory and revenues, its forces, its wealth, under Henry II. with his other vast French territories, had been at least equal to that of France, had gradually declined; and Philip Augustus, the most ambitious, unscrupulous, and able man who had wielded the sceptre of France, was continually watching the feuds in the royal family of England, of the sons of Henry against their father, in order to take every advantage, and extend his own dominions. With Philip Augustus Innocent was committed in strife on different grounds than in the conflict for the German empire. The Emperors and the Popes were involved in almost inevitable wars on account of temporal rights claimed and adhered to with obstinate perseverance, and on account of the authority and influence to be exercised by the Emperor over the hierarchy of the realm. The Kings of France were constantly laying themselves open to the aggressions of the Supreme Pontiff by the irregularity of their lives. The Pope with them assumed the high function of assertor of Christian morals, and of the sanctity of the marriage tie, as the champion of injured and pitiable women. To him all questions relating to matrimony belonged as arbiter in the last resort; he only could dissolve the holy sacrament of marriage; the Pope by declaring it indissoluble, claimed a right of enforcing its due observance. Pope Cœlestine had bequeathed to his successor the difficult affair of the marriage of Philip Augustus; an affair which gave to Innocent the power of dictating to that haughty sovereign.

Isabella of Hainault, the first wife of Philip Augustus, the mother of Louis VIII. had died before the king's departure for the Holy Land. Three years after his return he determined on a second marriage. Some connexion had sprung up between the kingdoms of Denmark and of France. Denmark was supposed to inherit from Canute the Great claims on the crown of England; claims which, however vague and obsolete, might be made use of on occasion to disturb the realm of his hated rival; his rival as possessing so large a part of France, his personal rival throughout the Crusades, Richard of England. Richard was now a prisoner in Germany; if Philip had no actual concern in his imprisonment, he was not inactive in impeding his liberation. Rumour spoke loudly of the gentle manners, the exquisite beauty, especially the long bright hair, of Ingeburga, the sister of the Danish king. Philip sent to demand her in marriage; it was said that he asked as her dowry the rights of Denmark to the throne of England, a fleet and an army to be at his disposal for a year. The prudent Canute of Denmark shrunk from a war with England, but proud of the royal connexion, consented to give the sum of 10,000 marks with his sister. Ingeburga arrived in France, Philip Augustus hastened to meet her at Amiens; that night, it was asserted by the queen but strenuously denied by Philip, he consummated the marriage. The next morning, during the coronation, the king was seen to shudder and turn pale. It was soon known that he had conceived an unconquerable disgust towards his new queen. Every kind of rumour spread abroad. He was supposed to have found some loathsome personal defect, or to have suspected her purity; some spoke of witchcraft, others of diabolic influence.[a] He proposed to send her back at once to Denmark; her attendants refused the disgraceful office of accompanying her shamed and repudiated to her father. Ingeburga remained in France, or in the neighbouring Flanders; while the king sought means for the dissolution of this

A.D. 1190.

Dec. 27, 1191.

A.D. 1194.

Marriage of Philip with Ingeburga.

[a] Gesta, ch. xlviii. suggerente diabolo. Such is the cause assigned by the ecclesiastical writers.

inauspicious marriage. Some of his courtiers, as might be expected, urged him to indulge his will at all hazards; others, the more sober, to struggle against his aversion. He is said a second time to have entered her chamber;[b] by her account to have exercised the rights of a husband, but this he again denied. Her ignorance of the language, and her awkward manners, strengthened his repugnance. The only means of dissolving the sacrament of marriage was to prove its invalidity. The Church had so extended the prohibited degrees of wedlock that it was not difficult by ascending and descending the different lines to bring any two persons of the royal houses within some relationship. A genealogy was soon framed by which Philip and his queen were brought within these degrees.[c] The obsequious clergy of France, with the Archbishop of Rheims at their head, pronounced at once the avoidance of the marriage. The humiliating tidings were brought to Ingeburga; she understood but imperfectly, and could
A.D. 1196. scarcely speak a word of French. She cried out —"wicked, wicked France! Rome, Rome!" She refused to return to Denmark: she was shut up in the convent of Beaurepaire, where her profound piety still further awoke compassion, especially among the clergy.[d] Philip Augustus affected to disdain, but used every violent measure to impede, her appeal to Rome.

Philip's violent passions did not rest in the dissolution of the marriage with Ingeburga; he sought to fill her place. Yet three nobly born maidens refused the hand of the King of France, either doubting the legality of any marriage with him, or disdaining to expose themselves to his capricious rejection; among them was the daughter of Herman of Thuringia, Otho's most powerful adherent

[b] Asserebat autem Regina quod Rex eam carnaliter cognoverat; Rex vero a continuo affirmabat quod ei non potuerat carnaliter commiscere.—Gesta, ibid.

[c] Gesta, ibid.

[d] Stephen of Tournay wrote in her behalf to the Cardinal Archbishop of Rheims. His Scriptural and classical knowledge is exhausted in finding examples for her wisdom and beauty. "Pulcra facie, sed pulcrior fide, annis juvencula sed animo cana; pœne dixerim Sarrâ maturior, Rachele gratior, Annâ devotior, Susannâ castior." He adds, "non deformior Helenâ, non abjectior Polyxenâ." She never sate, but always stood or knelt in her oratory. "If the Ahasuerus of France would but rightly acquaint himself with her, she would be his Esther."—Apud Baluz. Miscell. lib. i. p. 420.

in his conflict for the empire. At length, Agnes, the beautiful daughter of Bertholdt, Duke of Meran, a partisan of Philip, hazarded the dangerous step. The passion of Philip for Agnes was as intense as his hatred of Ingeburga: towards her his settled aversion became cruel persecution. She was dragged about from convent to convent, from castle to castle, to compel her to abandon her pertinacious appeal to Rome. Agnes of Meran, by her fascinating manners, no less than by her exquisite beauty, won the hearts of the gallant chivalry of France, as well as of their impetuous King. She rode gracefully, she mingled in all the sports and amusements of the court, even in the chase; the severe clergy were almost softened by her prevailing charms. The King of Denmark pressed the cause of his injured daughter before Pope Cœlestine. That Pontiff sent a Legate to France.[e] The King haughtily declared that it was no business of the Pope's. The clergy of France were cold and silent, not inclined to offend their violent sovereign. Cœlestine himself wanted courage to provoke the resentment of a monarch so powerful and so unscrupulous. So stood affairs at the death of Cœlestine. Almost the first act of Innocent after his accession was a letter to the Bishop of Paris, in which, after enlarging on the sanctity of marriage, he expresses his profound sorrow that his beloved son Philip, whom he intended to honour with the highest privileges, had put away and confined in a cloister his lawful wife, endangering thereby his fame and salvation. The King is to be warned, that if his only son should die, as he cannot have legitimate offspring by her whom he has superinduced, his kingdom would pass to strangers. Innocent attributes to this crime of the King a famine which was affecting France; he expresses his reluctance at the same time his determination to take stronger measures in case of the contumacy of the King.[f] How far the Bishop

Agnes of Meran.

Sept. 1198.

[e] To the same year, probably before the marriage to Agnes, belongs the letter of Ingeburga (apud Baluzium, Miscell. iii. 21). In this she asserts that three years before the date she had been married to Philip Augustus; that he had exercised the rights of a husband; that she was now a prisoner in a lonely castle; that the king despised the letters of his holiness, refused to hear the cardinals, and disregarded the admonitions of his prelates and religious men.

[f] Epist. i, ccexlv., to the archbishops, &c., of France to receive the Legate;

of Paris fulfilled the Pope's commands is unknown. Before the close of the year the Pope sent as his Legate to France, Peter of Capua, Cardinal of St. Maria in Viâ Latâ, afterwards known as the Cardinal of St. Marcellus. The legate's commission contained three special charges, each of which might seem highly becoming the head of Christendom.[g] I. To establish peace between the Kings of France and England. II. To preach a new crusade. III. To compel the King to receive his unjustly discarded wife. Innocent, in his letter to the King, is silent as to the marriage; his tone is peremptory, commanding not persuading peace. If Philip Augustus does not *humbly* submit to the monition of the legate within a prescribed time, the realm is to be placed under an interdict—an interdict which will suspend all sacred offices, except the baptism of infants, and the absolution of the dying. Any clerk who shall presume to violate the interdict is to be amerced by the loss of his benefices and his order. The hatred of Philip Augustus and of Richard was deep, inveterate, and aggravated by the suspicion, if not the certainty on the part of Richard, that his rival of France was not unconcerned in his long imprisonment. But at this juncture peace was convenient to Philip; he accepted the Papal mediation. Richard was more refractory; but even Richard, embarrassed with the payment of his ransom, involved in the doubtful affairs of Flanders, eager for the cause of Otho in Germany, was disposed to bow before the menace of a Papal interdict, or to conciliate the favour of Innocent.[h] A truce was agreed upon for five years; the Legate was to watch, and visit with spiritual penalties the violation of the truce. The Crusade was preached with some success. The Counts Theobald of Troyes, Louis of Blois, Baldwin of Hainault, the Count of St. Pol, the Bishops of Troyes and of Soissons, and one or two Cistercian abbots obeyed the summons, and took up the Cross.

Peace between England and France.

But to the command to receive again the hated Ingeburga, to dismiss the beloved Agnes of Meran, Philip

eccly. to the King of France. As Christ's Vicegerent the Pope is bound to enforce peace; his argument for peace in Europe is, that war may be more actively carried on in the Holy Land.

[g] Epist. i. 4.

[h] Epist. ii. xxiii. *et seqq.*

Augustus turned a deaf and contemptuous ear. The Cardinal dared not any longer delay to execute the peremptory mandate of the Pope. This mandate, brief and imperious, allowed some discretion as to the time, none as to the manner of enforcing obedience. "If within one month after your communication the King of France does not receive his queen with conjugal affection, and does not treat her with due honour, you shall subject his whole realm to an interdict: an interdict with all its awful consequences." Twice before, for causes relating to marriage, Kings of France had been under the Papal censure; but excommunication smote only the persons of Robert I. and his Queen Bertha; that against Philip I. and Beltrada laid under interdict any city or place inhabited by the guilty couple.[1] Papal thunders had grown in terror and in power; they now struck kingdoms. The Legate summoned a council at Dijon. There appeared the Archbishops of Rheims, of Lyons, of Besançon, of Vienne, eighteen bishops, with many abbots, and high dignitaries of the Church. Two presumptuous ecclesiastics, who had been sent to cite the King, were turned ignominiously out of doors; messengers however appeared from the King, protesting in his name against all further proceedings, and appealing to the Pope. The orders to the Legate were express to admit no appeal. On the seventh night of the council was pronounced the interdict with all its appalling circumstances. At midnight, each priest holding a torch, were chanted the Miserere, and the prayers for the dead, the last prayers which were to be uttered by the clergy of France during the interdict. The cross on which the Saviour hung was veiled with black crape; the reliques replaced within the tombs; the host was consumed. The Cardinal in his mourning stole of violet pronounced the territories of the King of France under the ban. All religious offices from that time ceased; there was no access to heaven by prayer or offering. The sobs of the aged, of the women and children, alone broke the silence. The interdict was pronounced at Dijon; some short delay was allowed before it

Interdict.

Dec. 6, 1199.

[1] Sismondi, iv. 121. Latin Christianity, vol. iii. p. 221.

was publicly promulgated in the presence of the clergy at Vienne. So for the injustice of the king towards his queen the whole kingdom of France, thousands of immortal souls were cut off from those means of grace, which if not absolutely necessary (the scanty mercy of the Church allowed the baptism of infants, the extreme unction to the dying), were so powerfully conducive to eternal salvation. An interdict was not like a war, in which the subjects suffer for the iniquities, perhaps the crimes, of their kings. These are his acts as a monarch, representing at least in theory the national will. The interdict was for the sin of the nian, the private individual sin. For that sin a whole nation at least thought itself in danger of eternal damnation.

"O how horrible, how pitiable a spectacle it was (so writes one who had seen and shuddered at the workings of an interdict) in all our cities! To see the doors of the churches watched, and Christians driven away from them like dogs; all divine offices ceased; the sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord was not offered; no gathering together of the people as wont at the festivals of the saints: the bodies of the dead not admitted to Christian burial, but their stench infected the air, the loathsome sight of them appalled the living; only extreme unction and baptism were allowed. There was a deep sadness over the whole realm, while the organs and the voices of those who chanted God's praises were every where mute."

Of the clergy of France, some in servile, or in awe-struck obedience, at once suspended all the offices of the church. The Bishops of Paris (the Archiepiscopate of Sens was vacant), of Senlis, Soissons, Amiens, Arras, the Canons of Sens, being more immediately under royal jurisdiction, ventured on timorous representations. "The people were in a state of pious insurrection. They had assembled round the churches, forced the doors, it was impossible to repress their determination not to be deprived of their services, their tutelary saints, their festivals. The King threatened the clergy with the last extremities." Innocent rejected their frivolous excuses, which betrayed their weak faith; the Church must no longer labour under this grievous scandal; all

[j] Radulph. Coggeshal. Chron. Anglic. apud Martene v.

who had not fulfilled the Papal mandate before Holy Thursday were to answer for it at Rome. But some sense of national independence, some compassion for their people, some fear of the King, induced others to delay at least the full obedience, the Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Laon, Noyon, Auxerre, Beauvais, Boulogne, Chartres, Orleans. The Bishop of Auxerre was the boldest, he aspired through the King to the vacant archbishopric of Sens.[k]

Philip Augustus was not of a temper to brook these encroachments; and his haughty temper was inflamed by his passion for Agnes of Meran. He broke out into paroxysms of fury. "By the sword joyeuse of Charlemagne" (we recognise the language of the Romances of the Trouvères), "Bishop," so he addressed the Bishop of Paris, "provoke not my wrath. You prelates, provided you eat up your vast revenues, and drink the wines of your vineyards, trouble yourself little about the poor people. Take care that I do not mar your feasting, and seize your estates."[m] He swore that he had rather lose half his dominions than part from Agnes of Meran, who was flesh of his flesh. He expelled many of the ecclesiastics, who dared to obey the Pope, from their benefices, and escheated all their property. The King's officers broke into the palace of the Bishop

Rage of Philip.

[k] Gesta, 56.

[m] Gesta, Chronique de St. Denis. Among the most curious illustrations of the age is a poem, written by Giles Corbeil, physician of Philip Augustus, of 5925 hexameter lines. Corbeil was before known by poems on subjects relating to his profession. This new poem has but recently come to light; it was written probably under Honorius III. about 1219, but refers to the times of Innocent. It is a furious satire against the pride, luxury, and irreligiousness of the French hierarchy. The Legate under Innocent, Cardinal Gualo of Vercelli, is not spared:—

"Gutture pomposo tumido Galone rolecto,
Qui Gallicanum, Crasso fœlicior, aurum
Sorbuit, argento mensas spoliavit, et omnes
Divitias rapuit, harpye more rapacis;
Qui culicem colando volens glutire camelum,
Imposuit collis onus importabile nostris,
Tollere cum non posset idem, digitoque movere;
Qui tantis iterum laqueis moderamine nullo
Strinxit et arctavit, cœtus prohibendo solutos,
Quòd sacra conjugii plerique refragula frangunt
Per fas atque nefas, sine lege vel ordine currunt,
Atque vias veteres recolunt, dudumque sepultos
Enormes renovant antiqui temporis actus:
Et pejus faciunt, pravusque repullulat error.
Quæ quamvis prohibenda foret, quia talia prorsus
Mactat et elidit divini regula juris.
Ipsa tamen, posito cunctis moderamine rebus,
Simplicibus verbis, hortatibus atque modestis
Extirpari debuerant, anathemate dempto."

In the account of this poem, by M. V. Le Clerc, in the xx. tome of the Hist. Littéraire de la France, will be found ample illustrations of this speech of Philip Augustus; on the dress, the table, the habits and manners of the hierarchy. The poem is called "Gera Pigra," "Ἱερὰ νίκεα," p. 337, *et seqq.*

of Senlis, carried off his horses, habiliments, and plate. Ingeburga was seized, dragged from her cloister, and imprisoned in the strong castle of Etampes.[n] But the people, oppressed by the heavy exactions of Philip Augustus, loved him not; their affections, as well as their religious feelings, were with the clergy. The barons and high vassals threatened; they actually began to rise up in arms. Innocent might seem to have acted with sagacious policy, and to have taken the wise course to humiliate the King of France. With strange mercy, while he smote the innocent subjects of Philip, the more awful sentence of personal excommunication was still suspended over the King's head and that of Agnes of Meran; it was reserved for a last, a more crushing blow, but one perhaps which might have led to perilous consequences. He had even (he boasts of his lenity) spared the uncle of the King, the Archbishop of Rheims, who had dared to pronounce the dissolution of the marriage.[o]

Philip, alarmed at the mutinous movements among the people, at length sent certain ecclesiastics and knights to Rome, to complain of the harsh proceedings of the Legate; to declare himself ready to give sureties that he would abide by the sentence of the Pope. "What sentence?" sternly exclaimed the Pope, "that which has been already delivered, or that which is to be delivered? He knows our decree: let him put away his concubine, receive his lawful wife, reinstate the bishops whom he has expelled, and give them satisfaction for their losses; then will we raise the interdict, receive his sureties, examine into the alleged relationship, and pronounce our decree." The answer went to the heart of Agnes of Meran; it drove the King to fury. "I will turn Mohammedan! Happy Saladin, he has no Pope above him!" But without the support of the princes and prelates of the realm even the haughty Philip Augustus must bow. He summoned a parliament at Paris; it was attended by all the great vassals of the crown. Agnes appeared in her beauty, as

[n] Addition a Chronique de St. Denis.

[o] Nec in personam subintroductæ, vel tuam sententiam aliquam proferendam duxerimus, sed terram tantum post frequentes commonitiones subjecimus interdicto.—Epist. v. 50.

when she had distributed the prizes of valour at Compiègne; in her sadness (says a chronicler of the day),[p] like the widow of Hector before the Greeks (she was far gone with child). The barons sate mute, not a sword flashed from its scabbard. "What is to be done?" demanded the King. "Obey the Pope, dismiss Agnes, receive back Ingeburga." So appalled were the nobles of France by the Papal interdict. The King turned bitterly to the Archbishop of Rheims, and demanded whether the Pope had declared his dissolution of the marriage a mockery. The prelate denied it not. "What a fool wert thou, then, to utter such a sentence." The King sent a new embassy to Rome. Agnes of Meran addressed a touching epistle to the Pope. "She, a stranger, the daughter of a Christian prince, had been married, young and ignorant of the world, to the King, in the face of God and of the Church; she had borne him two children. She cared not for the crown, it was on her husband that she had set her love. Sever me not from him." The inflexible Pope deigned no reply. Innocent sent the Cardinal of Ostia, a kinsman of the King of France, one of his most trusted counsellors, in compliance with the King's suppliant request, as the Legate to France. His instructions were full and explicit: he was to demand complete satisfaction for the dispossessed clergy, the banishment of the concubine (the German adulteress she is called by some of the coarser writers), not only from the palace but from the realm; the public reception of Ingeburga; an oath and sureties to abide by the sentence of the Church. The Cardinals (Octavian of Ostia was accompanied by John of Colonna) were received in France in a kind of trembling yet undisguised triumph; they came to deliver the land from its curse. At Vezelay they were met by the great prelates and clergy of the realm; the King received them at Sens with the utmost respect; he promised satisfaction to the Churchmen, was reconciled to the Bishops of Paris and Soissons. To the King's castle of St. Leger came the cardinals, the prelates;

[p] Gul. Brito. I have consulted Capefigue's Philippe Auguste, but with that care with which it is necessary to read that rapid but inexact writer. This, however, was his first and best work. There are some important letters on the subject in Langebek. Rerum Danicarum Scriptores.

and in their train Ingeburga. The people thronged round the gates: but the near approach of Ingeburga seemed to rouse again all the King's insuperable aversion.[q] The Cardinals demanded that the scene of reconciliation should be public; the negotiation was almost broken off; the people were in wild despair. At last the King seemed to master himself for a strong effort. With the Legates and some of the churchmen he visited her in her chamber. The workings of his countenance betrayed the struggle within: "The Pope does me violence," he said. "His Holiness requires but justice," answered Ingeburga. She was led forth, presented to the Council in royal apparel; a faithful knight of the King came forward, and swore that the King would receive and honour her as Queen of France. At that instant the clanging of the bells proclaimed the raising of the interdict. The curtains were withdrawn from the images, from the crucifixes; the doors of the churches flew open, the multitudes streamed in to satiate their pious desires, which had been suppressed for seven months. The news spread throughout France; it reached Dijon in six days, where the edict first proclaimed was abrogated in form. Nothing, however, could induce Philip Augustus to live with Ingeburga as his wife. He severed himself from Agnes of Meran, now a third time about to become a mother. It is said that at their parting interview their passionate kisses, sobs, and mutual protestations were heard. Her pregnancy was so far advanced that she could not leave the kingdom; she retired to a castle in Normandy; the serfs were said to see her pale form wandering, with wild gestures and dishevelled hair, upon the battlements. She brought forth a son in sorrow; he received the fitting name of Tristan.

Council at Soissons, Sept. 7, 1200.

The Legates appointed a Council for the solemn adjudication of the cause. It was to meet at Soissons at a time fancifully fixed at six months, six days, and six hours from the date of the summons. The King of Denmark and the Archbishop of Lund were cited to the support of the cause of the Danish princess. But in the

[q] Epist. iii. 140. Apud du Theil.

mean time, with all outward show of honour, Ingeburga was but a more stately prisoner. She complained to the Pope of the favour shown by the Legate to the King. Octavian had been flattered and softened by the recognition of his relationship to Philip. Innocent himself addressed the cardinals in language, which delicately suggested his dissatisfaction. If the Pope was not yet content with his victory over the King, the prelates, and clergy, who had refused instantaneous and complete obedience to the interdict, must be punished with the most abject humiliation. The Archbishop of Rheims, the Bishops of Chartres, of Orleans, Melun, Noyon, Beauvais, and Auxerre were compelled to appear at Rome (the aged and the infirm were alone permitted to appear by their proctors) to express their contrition and obtain absolution at the feet of the Pontiff. The Pope prohibited the promotion of Hugo, the refractory Bishop of Auxerre, to the Archbishopric of Sens.[r]

The Council of Soissons met at the appointed time, in great pomp. The Cardinal Octavian presided at first, without awaiting the arrival of the Cardinal of St. Paul. The King entered the city on one side; Ingeburga took up her dwelling in the convent of Nôtre Dame. She was received with the honours of a Queen. On the side of the King appeared a great number of learned lawyers, who pleaded at great length the nullity of the marriage; the Archbishop of Lund and the Danish ambassadors declared that they were present when the messengers of Philip demanded Ingeburga in marriage; having sworn in his name that he would marry her and crown her as soon as she entered his realm. They produced the oath. "We arraign you, King of France! therefore, of perjury, of breach of faith; we appeal from the Lord Octavian, your kinsman, in whom we have no trust, to the Pope." Octavian requested them to await the arrival of the Cardinal of St. Paul. "We have appealed to the Pope," they said, and departed. But on the arrival of the Cardinal John the cause went on. Ten bishops and several abbots pleaded for Ingeburga. But an unknown cham-

Council of Soissons. March 2, 1201.

[r] Gesta, lvii.

pion appeared in the lists,[s] and bore away the prize in defence of the injured beauty, Agnes of Meran. He was an ecclesiastic of unpretending demeanour, but such was the perspicuity, the learning, and the fervour of his speech, that the assembly sate in wonder. He disappeared at the end. So ran the legend of this unknown priest, who came to the rescue of the Queen of France. But there seemed no end to the inexhaustible arguments—they had sat fourteen days; the cardinals, the audience showed signs of impatience: they were strangely and suddenly released. One morning the King rode up to the Council; he declared that he would receive and live with Ingeburga as his wife. At once she was mounted behind him; and the King rode off with his hated spouse through the wondering streets, without bidding farewell to the perplexed cardinals. The Council was at an end. The Cardinal John returned to Rome. The Cardinal Octavian remained in France.

The motive of this extraordinary act of Philip Augustus was unknown in his own days. But in all probability he was informed that his beloved Agnes of Meran was, if not actually dying, not likely to live. Some superstitious fears arising from her death, some remorse, which might awaken in the hour of affliction, some desire to propitiate the Church towards the object of his love, and to procure availing prayers for her salvation; above all, that which lay nearest to his heart, and was the object which he pressed most earnestly soon after her death, the legitimation by the Pope of the children which she had borne him, may have determined the impetuous monarch to this sudden change, if not of feeling, of conduct. To the legitimation of his sons the Pope consented. But whatever his motive, Philip could not, or would not conquer his inconceivable aversion to the person of Ingeburga. To the Pope he declared repeatedly that nothing but witchcraft could be the cause.[t] The Pope, in language somewhat remarkable, urged the King to prepare himself by prayer, by alms, and by the sacrament, in order to dissolve the spell.[u] But

[s] Roger Hoveden.

[t] See in the Grande Chronique what the monks made of this. "Un vieux clerc" (how came he there?) "avait vu le diable tout rouge ... folâtrant sur les genoux de la reyne, faisant postures et mines horribles."

[u] Epist. x. 176.

in a more dignified letter, he enjoins him at least to treat her with the respect due to the descendant of kings, to the sister of a king, the wife of a king, the daughter of a king. Philip Augustus obeyed not; he eluded even this command. Ingeburga was led from castle to castle, from cloister to cloister; she was even deprived of the offices of religion, her only consolation; her bitter complaints still reached Rome; still new remonstrances were made by Innocent; till her voice seems to have been drowned in the wars of France and England, of Philip Augustus and John; and Innocent in his new function of mediator between or rather dictator to these rival monarchs, seemed to forget the neglected and persecuted Queen. Many years after Philip is said to have made her his Queen in all outward honours, but even then she was not his wife.

[x] Grandes Chroniques, sub. ann. 1213.

CHAPTER V.

INNOCENT AND ENGLAND.

INNOCENT had humbled the ablest and most arbitrary King who had ruled in France since the days of Charlemagne; Philip Augustus had been reduced to elude and baffle by sullen and artful obstinacy the adversary whom he could not openly confront.[a] But beyond the general impression thus made of the awfulness of the Papal power, the contest with Philip led to no great results either in the history of France or of the Church. In England, the strife of Innocent, first with King John, afterwards with the barons and churchmen of England, had almost immediate bearings on the establishment of the free institutions of England. During the reign of John, disastrous, humiliating to the King and to the nation, were laid the deep foundations of the English character, the English liberties, and the English greatness; and to this reign, from the attempt to degrade the kingdom to a fief of the Roman See, may be traced the first signs of that independence, that jealousy of the Papal usurpations, which led eventually to the Reformation.

On the accession of Innocent, so long as Richard lived, England was in close alliance with the Apostolic See. Richard was the great supporter of the Papal claimant of the Empire. At his desire Innocent demanded of Philip, whom he still called Duke of Swabia, as having succeeded to his brother's, the Emperor Henry's, patrimonial domains and treasures, the restitution of the large ransom extorted from Richard. Philip was bound to this act of honour and justice.[b] The Duke of Austria was also threatened with excommunication, if he did not in like manner, for the welfare of his father's

Richard I.

[a] He consented to the legitimation of Philip's sons by Agnes of Meran, Nov. 2.
[b] Epist. i. 242.

soul, who had taken an oath to make restitution, refund his share of the ransom money. The language of Innocent, when he assumes the mediation between France and England, though impartially lofty and dictatorial to both, betrays a manifest inclination towards England. The long account of insults, injuries, mutual aggressions, which had accumulated during the Crusade, on the way to the Holy Land, in the Holy Land, seems to perplex his judgment. But in France Philip Augustus is condemned as the aggressor; and peremptorily ordered to restore certain castles claimed by Richard.[c] But Richard fell before the castle of a contumacious vassal.[d] His brother John, by the last testament of Richard, by the free acclamation of the realms of England and of Normandy, succeeded to the throne. The Pope could not be expected, unsummoned, to espouse the claims of Arthur of Bretagne, the son of John's elder brother; for neither did Arthur nor his mother Constance appeal to the Papal See as the fountain of justice, as the protector of wronged and despoiled princes; and in most of the Teutonic nations so much of the elective spirit and form remained, that the line of direct hereditary succession was not recognised either by strict law or invariable usage. That the cause of Arthur was taken up by Philip of France, then under interdict, or at least threatened with interdict, was of itself fatal to his pretensions at Rome. But neither towards the King John, in whom he hoped to find a faithful ally, a steady partisan of his Emperor Otho, does Innocent arm himself with that moral dignity which will not brook the violation of the holy Sacrament of Marriage: the dissolution of an inconvenient tie, which is denied to Philip Augustus, is easily accorded, or at least not imperiously, or inexorably denied, to John. There was a singular resemblance in the treatment of their wives by these sovereigns; except that in one respect, the moral delinquency of John was far more flagrant; on the other hand, his wife acquiesced in the loss of her royal husband with much greater facility than the Danish princess repudiated by

John's divorce and marriage.

[c] Epist. i. 230.

[d] Richard died April 6, 1199.

Philip of France. John had been married for twelve years to the daughter of the Earl of Gloucester; an advantageous match for a younger prince of England. On the throne, John aspired to a higher, a royal connexion. He sought a dissolution of his marriage on the plea of almost as remote affinity. The Archbishop of Bourdeaux was as obsequious to John as the Archbishop of Rheims had been to Philip Augustus. Negotiations had been concluded for an alliance with a daughter of the King of Portugal, when John suddenly became enamoured of Isabella, the betrothed wife of the Count de la Mark. Isabella was dazzled by the throne; fled with John, and was married to him. Such an outrage on a great vassal was a violation of the first principle of feudalism; from that day the Barons of Touraine, Maine, and Anjou held themselves absolved from their fealty to John. But although this flagrant wrong, and even the sin of adultery, is added to the repudiation of his lawful wife, no interdict, no censure is uttered from Rome either against the King or the Archbishop of Bourdeaux. The Pope, whose horror of such unlawful connexions is now singularly quiescent, confirms the dissolution of the marriage, against which, it is true, the easy Havoise enters no protest, makes no appeal;[e] for John, till bought over with the abandonment of Arthur's claim to the throne by the treacherous Philip Augustus, is still the supporter of Otho; he is the ally of the Pope, for he is the ally of the Papal Emperor.

Contest with Philip Augustus.

Philip, embarrassed by his quarrel with the Pope, and the wavering loyalty of his own great vassals, who had quailed under the interdict, though he never lost sight of the great object of his ambition, the weakening the power of England in her Continental dominions and her eventual expulsion, at first asserted but feebly the rights of Arthur to the throne; he deserted him on the earliest prospect of advantage. In the treaty confirmed by the marriage of Louis, the son of Philip, with John's kins-

[e] Epist. v. 19, contains a sort of reproof to John for his propensity to the sins of the flesh, and gently urges repentance; but to the divorce I see no allusion, as Dr. Paulli seems, after Hurter, to do. — Geschichte Englands, p. 304.

woman, Blanche of Castile, Philip abandoned the claims of Arthur to all but the province of Bretagne; A.D. 1200. John covenanted to give no further aid in troops or money to Otho of Brunswick in his strife for the Empire.[f]

But the terrors of the interdict had passed away. Philip Augustus felt his strength: the Barons of Anjou, Touraine, Poitou, Maine, were eager to avenge the indignity offered to Hugh de la Mark. De la Mark appealed to his sovereign liege lord the King of France for redress. Philip summoned John to do homage for Aquitaine; to answer in his courts of Paris for the wrong done to De la Mark. Nor did John (so complete was the theory of feudal subordination) decline the summons. He promised to appear; two of his castles were pledged as surety that he would give full satisfaction in the plenary court of his sovereign. But John appeared not; his castles refused to surrender; Philip renewed his alliance with Arthur of Bretagne, asserted his claim to all the continental possessions of the King of England, contracted Arthur in marriage with his own daughter, as yet but of tender age. The capture, the imprisonment, the death of Arthur, raised a feeling of deep horror against John, whom few doubted to have been the murderer of his nephew.[g] Philip of France now appeared in arms under the specious title, not only of a sovereign proceeding against a wrong-doing and contumacious vassal, but as the avenger of a murder perpetrated on his nephew, it was said by some by the hand of John himself.[h] John had been summoned, at the accusation of the Bishop of Rennes, to answer for this crime before the Peers of France at Paris. Again John appeared

John summoned to do homage.

Death of Arthur.

War.

[f] See instructions to the Legate, the Bishop of Ostia, to break the dangerous alliance growing up between the kings of France and England.—Epist. i. 697, and letter to John, urging the support of Otho by money, ibid. and i. 714-720. Innocent declared John's oath null and void.

[g] Wendover merely says, "non multo post subito evanuit." "Utinam," adds Matt. Paris, "non ut fama refert invida." Radulph de Coggeshal is bolder (he wrote in France). From his relation, through Holinshed, Shakspeare drew his exquisitely pathetic scene.

[h] "Adeo quidem ut rex Johannes suspectus habebatur ab omnibus, quasi illum manu propriâ peremisset, unde multi animos avertentes a rege semper deinceps, ut ausi sunt, nigerrimo ipsum odio perstrinxerunt."—Wendover (ed. Coxe), p. 171.

not; the Court delivered its sentence, finding John Duke of Normandy guilty of felony and treason for the murder of the son of his elder brother, a vassal of France, within the realm of France. John had thereby violated his oath of fealty to the King of France, and all the fiefs which he held by that homage were declared forfeited to the Crown. Philip broke into Normandy, and laid siege to Château Gaillard, the key of the province. John, at Rouen, as though to drown his fears or his remorse, indulged, in the society of his young bride, in the most careless and prodigal gaiety, amusement, and debauchery; affected to despise the force of Philip, and boasted that he would win back in a day all that Philip would conquer in a year. But at the approach of Philip, even before the fall of Château Gaillard, he fled to England. He appealed to the Pope; he demanded that ecclesiastical censures should be visited on the perjured Philip Augustus, who had broken his oaths to maintain peace. At the commencement of the war Innocent had instructed the Abbot of Casamagiore to command the adverse monarchs to make peace. "It was his duty to preach peace. How would the Saracens rejoice at the war of two such kings? He would not have the blood which might be shed laid to his account." Philip Augustus, at a full assembly of Barons at Nantes, coldly and haughtily replied, that the Pope had no business to interfere between him and his vassal. But he avoided, either from prudence or respect, the reproach that the head of Christendom was standing forward as the protector of a murderer. The reply of Innocent from Anagni was the boldest and fullest declaration of unlimited power which had yet been made by Pope. He was astonished at the language of the King of France, who presumed to limit the power in spiritual things conferred by the Son of God on the Apostolic See, which was so great that it could admit no enlargement.[1] "Every son of the Church is bound, in case his brother trespasses against him, to hear the Church. Thy brother the King of England has accused thee of trespass against him; he has admonished thee; he has called many of his

Dec. 6.

High language of Innocent.

A.D. 1203.

[1] Epist. vi. 163.

great Barons to witness of his wrongs: he has in the last resort appealed to the Church. We have endeavoured to treat you with fatherly love, not with judicial severity; urged you, if not to peace, to a truce. If you will not hear the Church, must you not be held by the Church as a heathen and a publican? Can I be silent? No. I command you now to hear my legates, the Archbishop of Bourges and the Abbot of Casamaggiore, who are empowered to investigate, to decide the cause. We enter not into the question of the feudal rights of the King of France over his vassal, but we condemn thy trespass—thy sin—which is unquestionably within our jurisdiction. The Decretals, the law of the Empire, declare that if throughout Christendom one of two litigant parties appeals to the Pope the other is bound to abide by the award. The King of France is accused of perjury in violating the existing treaty, to which both have sworn, and perjury is a crime so clearly amenable to the ecclesiastical courts, that we cannot refuse to take cognizance of it before our tribunal." But Philip was too far advanced in his career of conquest to be arrested by such remonstrances; nor did the Pope venture on more vigorous interference; there was no further menace of interdict or excommunication. John, indeed, as the sagacious Innocent may have perceived, was lost without recovery—lost by his own weakness, insolence, and unpopularity. His whole Continental possessions were in revolt or conquered by Philip; a great force raised in England refused to embark. He tried one campaign in Aquitaine: some successes, some devastations, were followed by a disgraceful peace, in which Philip Augustus, having nearly accomplished his vast object, the consolidation of the realm in one great monarchy, condescended to accept the Papal mediation. From that time the King of England ceased to be the King of half France.

Loss of Normandy. A.D. 1203.

July 9, 1206.

Normandy was not yet lost, peace not yet re-established with Philip Augustus, when John was involved in a fierce contention with his ally, Pope Innocent. It arose out of the death of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury. Who should fill the throne of

A.D. 1205. Quarrel with the Pope about Archbishoprick of Canterbury.

Thomas à Becket—who hold the primacy of England? The question of investitures had hardly reached England, or had died away since the days of Anselm. The right of nominating to the bishoprics remained nominally in the chapters; but as the royal licence was necessary before they could proceed to the election, and the royal approval before the consecration and the possession of the temporalities, the Kings had exercised controlling power, at least over all the greater sees. The Norman kings and the Plantagenets had still filled all the great benefices with Norman prelates, or prelates approved by the Court. Becket himself was, in fact, advanced by Henry II. Some of the English sees had grown out of or were connected with monasteries, which asserted and exercised the rights of chapters. The monks of Christchurch in Canterbury claimed the election to the Metropolitan See. The monks were at the same time most obstinately tenacious of their rights, and least capable of exercising them for the welfare of the Church and of the kingdom. At this present time there were on one side deep and sullen murmurs that the Church of England had sunk into a slave of the King. Becket had laid down his martyr life in vain.[k] On the other hand, the King rejoiced in the death of Hubert, whom he suspected of secret favour towards his enemy the King of France. The second prelate of the kingdom, Geoffrey Archbishop of York, the brother of the King, had refused to permit a thirteenth, exacted by the King for the recovery of his French dominions, to be levied in his province; he had fled the realm, leaving behind him an anathema against all who should comply with the King's demands.[m] The privilege of the monks of Christchurch in Canterbury to elect the Primate had been constantly contested by the suffragan prelates, who claimed at least a concurrent right of election.[n] At all the recent elections this strife had continued, the monks, though over-

[k] "Licet beatus Thomas archepiscopus animam suam pro ecclesiasticâ posuerit libertate, nulla tamen utilitas quoad hoc in sanguine ejus erat, quoniam Anglicana ecclesia per principum insolentiam in profundâ servitute ancillata jacebat."—Gesta, ch. cxxxi. Matt. Par.

[m] Wendover, pp. 154-209.

[n] Compare Lingard, Hist. of England, *in loco*.

borne by royal authority, or by the power of the prelates, never renounced or abandoned their sole and exclusive pretensions.

Immediately on the death of Hubert, the younger monks, without waiting for the royal licence, in the narrow corporate spirit of monkhood, hastily elected their Sub-prior Reginald to the See. In order to surprise the Papal sanction, under which they might defy the resentment of the King without whose licence they had acted, and baffle the bishops who claimed the concurrent right, they had the precaution to take an oath from Reginald to maintain inviolable secrecy till he should arrive at Rome. The vanity of Reginald induced him, directly he reached Flanders, to assume the title, and to travel with the pomp of an Archbishop Elect. On his arrival at Rome, Innocent neither rejected nor admitted his pretensions. Among the monks of Christchurch, in the mean time, the older and more prudent had resumed their ascendancy; they declared the election of Reginald void, obtained the royal permission, and proceeded under the royal influence to elect in all due form John de Gray, Bishop of Norwich, a martial prelate and the great leader in the councils of the King.[o] The suffragan bishops acquiesced in this election. The Bishop of Norwich was enthroned in the presence of the King, and invested in all the temporalities of the see by the King himself. A.D. 1205.

On the appeal to Rome, upon this question of strict ecclesiastical jurisdiction, all agreed. Reginald the Sub-prior and his partisans were already there; twelve monks of Christchurch appeared on the part of the King and the Bishop of Norwich; the suffragan bishops had their delegates to maintain their right to concurrent election. The Pope, in the first place, took into consideration the right of election. He decided in favour of the monks. Against their prescriptive, immemorial usage, appeared only pretensions established in irregular and violent times, under the protection of arbitrary monarchs.[p] Many decisions of the Papal See had been in favour of elections made by the monks alone; none recognised the A.D. 1206.

[o] Wendover, p. 194. R. de Coggeshal.

[p] Wendover, p. 188.

necessary concurrence of the bishops. Policy no doubt commingled in this decree with reverence for ancient custom; the monks were more likely to choose a prelate of high churchmanlike views—views acceptable to Rome; the bishops to comply with the commands, or at least not to be insensible to the favour of the King.

The Court of Rome proceeded to examine the validity of the late election. It determined at once to annul both that of Reginald the Sub-prior and that of John de Gray: of Reginald, because it was irregularly made, and by a small number of the electors; of de Gray, because the former election had not been declared invalid by competent authority. The twelve monks were ordered to proceed to a new election at Rome. John had anticipated this event, and taken an oath of the monks to elect no one but John de Gray. They were menaced with excommunication if they persisted in the maintenance of their oath; they were commanded to elect Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus. Innocent could not have found a Churchman more unexceptionable, or of more commanding qualifications for the primacy of England. Stephen Langton was an Englishman by birth, of irreproachable morals, profound theologic learning, of a lofty, firm, yet prudent character, which unfolded itself at a later period in a manner not anticipated by Pope Innocent. Langton had studied at Paris, and attained surpassing fame and honourable distinctions. Of all the high-minded, wise, and generous prelates who have filled the see of Canterbury, none have been superior to Stephen Langton; and him the Church of England owes to Innocent III. And if in himself Langton was so signally fit for the station, he was more so in contrast with his rivals—Reginald, who emerged from his obscurity to fall back immediately into the same obscurity; the Bishop of Norwich, a man of warlike rather than of priestly fame, immersed in temporal affairs, the justiciary of the realm, in whom John could little fear or Innocent hope to find a second Becket. The monks murmured, but proceeded to the election of Langton. Elias of Brantfield alone stood aloof unconsenting; he tried the effect of English gold,

Stephen Langton.

A.D. 1207.

with which he had been lavishly supplied. Innocent, it is said, disdainfully rejected a bribe amounting to three thousand marks.[q]

Innocent, aware that this assumption of the nomination to the archbishopric by the Pope, this intrusion of a prelate almost a stranger, would be offensive to the pride of the English King, had endeavoured to propitiate John by a suitable present. Among the weaknesses of this vain man was a passion for precious stones. He sent him a ring of great splendour, with many gems, accompanied with a letter explaining their symbolic religious signification.[r] The letter was followed by another, recommending strongly Stephen Langton, Archbishop elect of Canterbury, as a man incomparable for theologic learning as for his character and manners; a person who would be of the greatest use to the King in temporal or in spiritual affairs. But the messengers of the Pope were stopped at Dover. At Viterbo,[s] the Pope proceeded to the consecration of the Primate of England. The fury of John knew no bounds: he accused the monks of Canterbury of having taken his money in order to travel to Rome, and of having there betrayed him. He threatened to burn their cloister over their heads; they fled in the utmost precipitation to Flanders; the church of Canterbury was committed to the monks of St. Augustine; the lands of the monks of Christchurch lay an uncultivated wilderness. To the Pope he wrote in indignation that he was not only insulted by the rejection of the Bishop of Norwich, but by the election of Langton, a man utterly unknown to him, and bred in France among his deadly enemies. The Pope should remember how necessary to him was the alliance of England; from England he drew more wealth than from any kingdom beyond the Alps. He declared that he would cut off at once all communication between his realm and Rome.[t] Innocent's tone rose with that of John, but he maintained calmer dignity. He enlarged on the writings of Langton: so far from Langton being

Rage of King John.

[q] Wendover, p. 212.
[r] Matt. Par.
[s] Innocent passed the summer and autumn of 1207 at Viterbo.—Hurter, ii. p. 39.
[t] The letter in Wendover, 216.—Matt. Paris.

unknown to the King, he had three times written to him since his promotion to the cardinalate. He warned the King of the danger of revolting against the Church: "Remember this is a cause for which the glorious martyr St. Thomas shed his blood."

John had all the pride, in the outset of this conflict he showed some of the firm resolution, of a Norman sovereign. The Bishop of Norwich, in his disappointed ambition, inflamed the resentment and encouraged the obstinacy of the King. "Stephen Langton at his peril should set his foot on the soil of England." Innocent proceeded with slow but determinate measures. All expostulation having proved vain, he armed himself with that terrible curse which had already brought the King of France under his feet. England in her turn must suffer all the terrors of interdict. William Bishop of London, Eustace Bishop of Ely, Mainger Bishop of Worcester, had instructions to demand for the last time the royal acknowledgment of Langton; if refused, to publish the interdict throughout their dioceses.[u] The King broke out into a paroxysm of fury; he uttered the most fearful oaths—blasphemies they were called—against the Pope and the Cardinals; he swore "by the teeth of God," that if they dared to place his realm under an interdict he would drive the whole of the bishops and clergy out of the kingdom, put out the eyes and cut off the noses of all Romans in the realm, in order to mark them for hatred. He threatened the prelates themselves with violence. The prelates withdrew, in the ensuing Lent published the interdict, and then fled the kingdom, and with them the Bishops of Bath and Hereford. "There they lived, says the historian, in abundance and luxury, instead of standing up as a defence for the Lord's house, abandoning their flocks to the ravening wolf."[x] Salisbury and Rochester took refuge in Scotland.[y] Thus throughout England, as throughout France, without exception, without any privilege to church or monastery, ceased the divine offices of the Church.

Interdict. March 24, 1208.

[u] See in Rymer a letter of remonstrance by Pope Innocent. John answers the bishop that he will obey the Pope, salvâ dignitate regiâ et libertatibus regiis.—i. p. 99.

[x] Wendover, p. 224.

[y] Bower. Continuat. Fordun. viii.

From Berwick to the British Channel, from the Land's-end to Dover, the churches were closed, the bells silent; the only clergy who were seen stealing silently about were those who were to baptise new-born infants with a hasty ceremony; those who were to hear the confession of the dying, and to administer to them, and them alone, the holy Eucharist. The dead (no doubt the most cruel affliction) were cast out of the towns, buried like dogs in some unconsecrated place—in a ditch or a dunghean—without prayer, without the tolling bell, without funeral rite. Those only can judge the effect of this fearful malediction who consider how completely the whole life of all orders was affected by the ritual and daily ordinances of the Church. Every important act was done under the counsel of the priest or the monk. Even to the less serious, the festivals of the Church were the only holidays, the processions of the Church the only spectacles, the ceremonies of the Church the only amusements. To those of deeper religion, to those, the far greater number, of abject superstition, what was it to have the child thus almost furtively baptised, marriage unblessed, or hardly blessed;[z] the obsequies denied; to hear neither prayer nor chant; to suppose that the world was surrendered to the unrestrained power of the devil and his evil spirits, with no saint to intercede, no sacrifice to avert the wrath of God; when no single image was exposed to view, not a cross unveiled: the intercourse between man and God utterly broken off; souls left to perish, or but reluctantly permitted absolution in the instant of death.

John might seem to encounter the public misery, not with resolute bravery, but with an insolence of disdain; to revel in his vengeance against the bishops and priests who obeyed the Pope. The Sheriffs had orders to compel all such priests and bishops to quit the realm, scornfully adding that they might seek justice with the Pope. He seized the bishoprics and abbeys, escheated their estates into the hands of laymen. Some of the monks refused to leave their monasteries; their lands and property were not the less

[z] Dr. Lingard, from Dunstable, c. 51, says that sermons were preached in the churchyards, marriages and churchings performed in the church porch.—vol. iii.

confiscated to the King's Exchequer. All the barns of the clergy were closed and marked as belonging to the royal revenue. The clergy of England were open to persecution of a more cruel nature. The marriage of the clergy still prevailed to a wide extent, under the opprobrious name of concubinage. The King seized these females throughout the realm, and extorted large sums for their ransom.[a] The ecclesiastics, as they would not submit to the King's law, were out of the protection of the King's law; if assaulted on the high road, plundered, maltreated, they sought redress in vain. It was said that when a robber was brought bound before the King who had robbed and slain a priest, John ordered his release: "He has rid me of one enemy." Yet throughout all these oppressions of the Church, three prelates—his minister Peter of Winchester, Gray of Norwich (Deputy of Ireland), and Philip of Durham—were the firm partisans, the unscrupulous executors of all the King's measures.[b]

These exactions from the clergy enabled John to conduct his campaigns in Scotland, Wales, and Ireland with success. After above a year Innocent determined to strike at the person of the King, to excommunicate him by name in the most solemn manner. Stephen Langton had obtained a relaxation of the interdict so far that Divine service might be performed once a week in the

[a] "Presbyterorum et clericorum focariæ *per totam Angliam* a ministris regiis captæ sunt et graviter ad se redimendum compulsæ."—Wendover, p. 223.

[b] See, on the bishops, the very curious Latin song published by Mr. Wright, 'Political Songs.' Stephen is expected to be a second Becket. "Thomam habes (Cantia) sed alterum. Sed cum habebis Stephanum—Assumes tibi tympanum—Chelyn tangens sub modulo." Bath is accused of inordinate rapacity as a collector for the king's exchequer. "Tu Norwicensis bestia!—Audi quid dicat veritas—Qui non intrat per ostia—Fur est, an de hoc dubitas—Heu! cecidisti gravius—Quam Cato quondam tertius; Cum præsumpta electio—Justo ruat judicio. Empta per dolum Simonis—Wintoniensis armiger—Præsidet ad Scaccarium—Ad computandum impiger—Piger ad evangelium—Regis revolvens rotulum—Sic lucrum. Lucam superat—Marco, Marcam præponderat—Et libræ librum subjicit." John (William?) of London, Ely, and Worcester (the successor of S. Wulstan), are named as the three who are to beat down the three impious ones. "Ely, parcens paucis vel nemini." Salisbury and Rochester are named with more meagre praise.—P. 10, *et seqq.* There is a spirited anti-papal song on the other side. It is chiefly on the avarice of Rome—

"Romanorum curia non est nisi forum."

It does not abstain from the Pope—

"Cum ad Papam veneris, habe pro constanti,
Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti."

Mr. Wright suggests that the lion in the fourth verse means King John—a strange similitude!—the bishops the asses.

conventual churches. The Pope issued his commission to the fugitive Bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, to pronounce the sentence of excommunication, and to transmit it for publication to the few prelates who remained in the land. Every Sunday and every feast day it was to be repeated in all the conventual churches of England. Not a prelate dared to undertake the office; the whole clergy were dumb. Yet the awful fact transpired; men whispered to each other that the King was an excommunicated person; it was silently promulgated in market places, and in the streets of the cities. One clergyman, Geoffrey, Archdeacon of Norwich, who was employed in the royal exchequer, was seized with conscientious scruples as to serving an excommunicated King. He retired to Norwich. The King sent after him, ordered him to be loaded with chains, and afterwards cased in a surcoat of lead: he died in prison.

Resistance of John.

It is remarkable that while the interdict of one year reduced the more haughty and able Philip Augustus to submission, the weak, tyrannical, and contemptible John defied for four years the whole awful effects of interdict, and even for some time of personal excommunication. Had John been a popular sovereign, had he won to his own side by wise conciliation, by respect to their rights, by a dignified appeal to their patriotism, the barons and the people of England; had he even tempted their worse passions, and offered them a share in the confiscated property of the Church, even the greatest of the Popes might have wasted his ineffectual thunders on the land. Above two years after the interdict, and when the sentence of excommunication was well known, A.D. 1210. King John held his Christmas at Windsor; not one of the great barons refused to communicate with him: even later, when Innocent proceeded to release A.D. 1211. his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, he counted among his steadfast adherents three bishops, Henry of Winchester, Peter of Durham, and John of Norwich; the Chancellor, and a great number of the most powerful barons were firm in their loyalty. But while he defied the Pope and the hierarchy, he at the same time

seemed to labour to alienate the affections of all orders in the country. He respected no rights; nothing was sacred against his rapacity and his lust. His profligate habits outraged the honour of the nobles; his passion for his Queen Isabella had burned out; not one of the wives or daughters of the highest barons were safe from his seductions or violence; against the lower orders he had re-enacted and enforced with the utmost severity the forest-laws. An obscure person ("a false theologian"), Alexander the Mason, had now found his way into the councils of the King. Alexander is charged with encouraging at once the tyrannous and irreligious disposition of the King. He declared that kings were designed by God as scourges of their subjects; that he should govern them with a rod of iron. He averred at the same time that the Pope had no right to interfere in temporal matters; that God had given only ecclesiastical powers to St. Peter. John heaped benefices, which he wrested from their right owners, on this congenial adviser; he was afterwards reduced by the Pope's interposition to the lowest beggary; the clergy triumphed in his misery.[c] The exactions and barbarities of the King against the Jews would move but slight sympathy, even if not viewed with approbation; they were seized, imprisoned, tortured, without any avowed charge, with the sole, almost ostentatious design, of wringing money from their obstinate grasp. The well-known story of the Jew who lost his teeth, one every day for seven days, before he would yield, and on the eighth redeemed what were left by ten thousand marks, even if wholly or partly a fiction, is a fiction significant of terrible truth.[d] But the whole people was oppressed by heavy and unprecedented taxation. At length, when time had been given for the estrangement of the nobles and people to grow into disaffection, almost into revolt, Innocent proceeded to that last act of authority which the Papal See reserved against contumacious sovereigns. The Interdict had smitten the land; the Excommunication desecrated the person of the King; the subjects had been absolved from their fealty; there remained the act of deposition from the.

A.D. 1210.

[c] Wendover, p. 229. [d] Wendover, 231.

throne of his fathers. The sentence was publicly, solemnly promulgated against the King of England; his domains were declared the lawful spoil of whoever could wrest them from his unhallowed hands. A.D. 1213.

There was but one sovereign in Europe whom his own daring ambition, and his hatred of John, might tempt to this perilous enterprise. Philip Augustus, who had himself so bitterly complained of the insolence of the Pope in interdicting his realm, excommunicating his person, absolving his subjects from their fealty, was now religiously moved to execute the Papal sentence of deposition against his rival. He had won the continental dominions, he would possess himself of the insular territories of John. The policy of Pope Innocent with regard to the King of France had undergone a total revolution. Otho, the Emperor, the kinsman of John, who owed to the wealth of John his success in his struggle for, if not his conquest of the Empire, was now the armed enemy of the Pope; France was the ally of Frederick the Sicilian, whose claims to the Empire were befriended by Innocent. The interests of the Pope and the King of France were as intimately allied as they had been implacably opposed. At a great assembly in Soissons appeared Stephen Langton, the Bishops of London and Ely, newly arrived from Rome, the King of France, the bishops, clergy and people of that realm. The English bishops proclaimed the sentence of deposition; enjoined the King of France and all others, under the promise of the remission of their sins, to take up arms; to dethrone the impious King of England; to replace him by a more worthy sovereign. Philip Augustus accepted the command of this new crusade. Great forces were levied for the invasion of England; secret negotiations carried on with the discontented nobles. The measures of John were not wanting in vigour or subtlety. He raised an immense force, which encamped on Barham Downs. The sheriffs had been ordered to summon every man capable of bearing arms; every vessel which would hold six horses was to assemble in Portsmouth harbour. He assumed the aggressive, captured some ships at the

Philip Augustus undertakes to dethrone King John.

April 8, 1213.

mouth of the Seine, and burned Fecamp and Dieppe. The army was so vast as to be unwieldy, and could not be supplied with provisions: but, even reduced, it amounted to 60,000 men.[c] Yet in all that army there were few whom John could trust, except, perhaps, the Irish, 1500 foot and a strong force of cavalry, brought over by his fast friend the Bishop of Norwich, the Deputy of Ireland; and the Flemish mercenaries, so long as they received their pay. It was universally believed, it became matter of grave history, that John took a step of still more awful desperation; the outcast of Christendom would take refuge in Mohammedanism. He meditated a bold revolt to Islam. He despatched a secret embassy to Mohammed el Nasser, the Emir al Mouenim, the Caliph, as he was called, of the Mohammedans of Spain and Africa, offering to embrace the faith of the Korân, to own himself the vassal of the representative of the false prophet. It was still more unaccountably believed, that the haughty Mohammedan treated his advances with disdain, and refused to honour the renegade Christian with his alliance. It is true that the abhorrence, the contempt of the Christian world had become allayed rather than inflamed by the Crusades; noble Christian knights and Christian kings had learned to honour chivalry and generosity in their unbelieving foes. The strife of Richard and Saladin had been that of kings who admired the lofty qualities each of his rival; Philip Augustus was said in his wrath to have expressed his envy of the Mohammedan Noureddin, who had no Pope to control him. Frederick II. is about to appear even in more suspicious friendly approximation to the misbeliever. It is more probable that John may, in his impotent passion, have threatened, than had the courage to purpose such act of apostasy. The strong argument against it is his cowardice rather than his Christain faith. Even John must have had the sagacity to see that such alliance could give him no strength: would arm embattled Christendom against him. His anger might madden him to bold words, it would not support him in deliberate acts. But that the story was widely spread, eagerly believed, is

Desperation of King John.

[c] See in Wendover the orders to the sheriffs, p. 244.

of itself a significant historical fact.[f] But the better and wiser hope of John was in detaching the Pope himself, by feigned or by temporary submission, from the head of his own league; in making a separate peace with the Pontiff. He had sent the Abbot of Beaulieu, with five other ecclesiastics, to Rome; they had not been allowed, on account of certain informalities, to proceed in their negotiations; but the Subdeacon Pandulph, an ecclesiastic high in the confidence of Innocent, was commanded to proceed to England as Legate. Without any communication with the King of France, Pandulph presented himself at Dover before King John.[g]

John by this time had passed from the height of insolence to the lowest prostration of fear. Not only did everything tend to deepen his mistrust of his own subjects, and his suspicions of the wavering fidelity of his army, but, like most irreligious men, he was the slave of superstition. One Peter, a hermit, had obtained great fame among the people as a prophet: of all his prophecies none had made greater noise, or been received with more greediness, than a saying relating to the King; that before Ascension Day John would cease to be King of England. Peter had been seized and imprisoned in Corfe Castle, and now, just at this perilous crisis, the fatal Ascension Day was drawing on; there wanted but three days. Pandulph was an Italian of consummate ability. He was ushered into the presence of the King by two Knights Templars. His skilful address overawed the shattered mind of John to a panic of humiliation. He described in the most vivid terms the vast forces of the King of France, darkened the disloyalty of the English barons; King Philip had declared that he had the signatures of almost all of them, inviting him over.[h] From the hostility of France, of the exiled bishops, of his own barons, he had everything to fear; everything to hope from the clemency of Rome.

[f] Matth. Paris, p. 169. Compare Lingard, who is disposed to think the story not incredible.

[g] Pandulph was not cardinal.

[h] "Jactat in præterea idem rex chartas habere omnium fere Angliæ magnatum de fidelitate et subjectione."—Wendover, p. 47. Yet John had great names on his side,—William, Earl of Salisbury, his bastard brother; Reginald, Count of Boulogne; Warennes, de Veres.

John, once humbled, knew no bounds to his abject submission: he was as recklessly lavish in his concessions as recklessly obstinate in his resistance. He was not even satisfied with subscribing the hard terms of the treaty dictated by Pandulph; he seemed to have a desperate determination by abasing himself even below all precedent to merit the strongest protection from that irresistible power which he had rashly provoked, and before which he was now bowed down; he could not purchase at too high a price his reconciliation to the See of Rome; perhaps he contemplated, not without satisfaction, the bitter disappointment of his enemy Philip Augustus, in thus being deprived of his prey.

May 15, 1213.

The treaty with the Pope acknowledged the full right of Langton to the Archiepiscopal See; it repealed the sentence of banishment against the clergy, and reinstated them in their functions and their estates; it promised full restitution of all monies confiscated to the royal use, and compensation for other wrongs; a specific sum was to be paid to the Archbishop, and to each of the exiled bishops; it released from imprisonment all who had been apprehended during the contest; it reversed every sentence of outlawry; and guaranteed the clergy for the future from such violent abuse of the power of the Crown. Four barons swore to the execution of these stipulations on the part of the King; the Legate, on that of the Pope, that on their due fulfilment the interdict and the excommunication should be removed; and that the bishops should take a new oath of allegiance. But Ascension Day was not yet passed; it wanted still two days; and during those two days John had unconsciously fulfilled the prediction of the Hermit. On the vigil of that day appeared the Legate in his full pomp in the church of the Templars. On the other side entered the King of England, and placed an instrument in the Legate's hands, signed, sealed, and subscribed with his own name, with that of the attesting witnesses.—"Be it known to all men," so ran the Charter, "that having in many points offended God and our Holy Mother the Church, as satisfaction for our sins, and duly to humble ourselves after the example

Submission of John.

of him who for our sake humbled himself to death, by the grace of the Holy Ghost, with our own free will and the common consent of our barons, we bestow and yield up to God, to his holy apostles Peter and Paul, to our Lord the Pope Innocent, and his successors, all our kingdom of England and all our kingdom of Ireland, to be held as a fief of the Holy See with the payment of 1000 marks, and the customary Peter's pence. We reserve to ourselves, and to our heirs, the royal rights in the administration of justice. And we declare this deed irrevocable; and if any of our successors shall attempt to annul our act, we declare him thereby to have forfeited his crown." The attesting witnesses were one archbishop (of Dublin), one bishop (De Gray of Norwich), nine earls, among them Pembroke and Salisbury, and four barons. The next day he took the usual oath of fealty to the Pope; he swore on the Gospels. It was the oath of a vassal. "I, John, by the grace of God, King of England and Lord of Ireland, from this day forth and for ever will be faithful to God and to the ever blessed Peter, and to the Church of Rome, and to my Lord the Pope Innocent, and to his Catholic successors. I will not be accessory, in act or word, by consent or counsel, to their loss of life, of limb, or of freedom. I will save them harmless from any wrong of which I may know; I will avert all in my power; I will warn them by myself or by trusty messengers, of any evil intended against them. I will keep profoundly secret all communications with which they may entrust me by letter or by message. I will aid in the maintenance and defence of the patrimony of St. Peter, specially this kingdom of England and Ireland, to the utmost of my power, against all enemies. So help me God and his holy Gospels."[1] Every year, besides Peter's pence, the realm was to pay to the Holy See, as sign of vassalage, 1000 marks—700 for England, 300 for Ireland.

By this extraordinary proceeding it is difficult to decide to

[1] Compare the copies of the submission and the oath in Wendover with those in Rymer. In Wendover secundarius has been substituted (by the copyist) for feudatorius.

what extent, according to the estimation of the time, John degraded himself and the realm of England. His first act showed that he was himself insensible to all its humiliating significance. That first act was to revenge himself on Peter the Hermit. Ascension Day passed over; he instantly ordered Peter and his son to be dragged at the tails of horses, and hung on gibbets, as false prophets. But the popular feeling vindicated the truth of the prediction: John had *ceased to reign* by the surrender of his kingdom to the Pope. It was afterwards among the heaviest charges made by Louis of France, when he claimed the crown of England; it followed the accusation of the murder of his nephew Arthur, that he had unlawfully surrendered the realm to the Pope.[k] The attesting witnesses were some of the greatest nobles in the land; they were chiefly the attached partisans of John, the Bishop of Norwich, and the King's bastard brother, Salisbury; Pembroke and Warenne were afterwards among the barons who extorted the great Charter.

Effects of this submission.

Innocent had added, by this act of John, another and a more powerful kingdom to that great feudal monarchy, half spiritual half temporal, which the later Popes had aspired to found in Rome;[m] that vague and undefined sovereignty which gave the right of interfering in all the affairs of the realm, as Suzerain as well as Spiritual Father. He had succeeded, by accident in truth, and to his loss and discomfiture, in imposing an Emperor on Germany; but still he had fixed a precedent for the decision of the Pope against a majority of the German electors. He held, at least he claimed to hold, the greater part of Italy. He did hold the kingdom of Sicily, as a fief of the Papacy; the patrimony of St. Peter, and the inheritance of the Counts of Tuscany, as actual Lord. In France the Popes asserted the reigning family, the descendants of Hugh Capet, to have received the throne by their award. The Pope had transferred it as from the Mero-

[k] The passage cited by Dr. Lingard, that he did this under compulsion from the barons, coactus, will bear another interpretation. He was compelled not by the counsel or control of those around him, but by the perfidious league of the others with France.

[m] During many pontificates the papal bulls and briefs speak of England as a vassal kingdom held of Rome.

vingian to the Carlovingian: so from the house of Charlemagne to that of Capet. In Spain, the kingdom of Arragon owned feudal allegiance. The Latin Empire of Constantinople, though won in direct prohibition of his commands, was yet subject to his undefined claim of sovereignty. Over all kingdoms conquered from the infidels he asserted his right of disposal, as well as over all islands: England held Ireland by his sovereign grant.

Pandulph had received the fealty of the King of England; the 8000*l.* sterling, which had been stipulated as the compensation for the exiled prelates, had been paid into his hands; he is said likewise to have received a sum of money as the first payment of the tribute to Rome, and to have trampled it contemptuously under his feet. But it was not Pandulph's policy to insult further the degraded John; and Pandulph was a man who acted throughout from wary policy. It is possible that in order to take a high tone, and remove that suspicion of rapacity which attached to all the proceedings of the Court of Rome, he may have declined to receive these first fruits of his conquest; but what he did carry to France was not the fee-farm payment to Rome, but the restitution money to the English prelates.[n] He appeared before the King of France, and in the name of the Pope briefly and peremptorily forbade him from proceeding to further hostilities against John, who had now made his peace with the Church. Philip Augustus burst into fury. "Had he at the cost of sixty thousand pounds assembled at the summons, at the entreaty of the Pope, one of the noblest armaments which had ever met under a King of France? Was all the chivalry of France, in arms around their sovereign, to be dismissed like hired menials when there was no more use for their services?" His invectives against the Pope passed not only all the bounds of respect, but of courtesy. But the defection of Ferrand Count of Flanders was more powerful in arresting the invasion of England, than the inhibition of Pandulph. Ferrand, whose conduct had been before doubtful, and who had entered into a secret

Pandulph returns to France.

Fury of Philip.

[n] Sismondi has confounded the two kinds of payment.

league with the King of England, diverted on his own dominions the wrath of Philip, to whom the more alluring plunder of the rich Flemish towns seemed to offer a conquest more easy and profitable than the realm of England. Flanders, he swore, shall be France, or France Flanders. But the fleets of England joined the Flemings, and the attempted conquest of Flanders by Philip Augustus ended in disgraceful discomfiture.

If the dastardly mind of John was insensible to the shame of having degraded his kingdom into a fief of Rome, he might enjoy an ignominious triumph in the result of Philip's campaign. From himself he had averted all immediate danger; he had arrested the French invasion of England, and the menaced revolt of his barons; he had humbled his implacable enemy by his successes in Flanders. He had secured an ally, faithful to him in all his subsequent tyrannies, humiliations and disasters. The vassal of the Roman See found a constant, if less powerful protector, in his lord the Pontiff of Rome. As elate in transient success as cowardly in disaster, John determined to resume the aggressive; to invade his ancient dominions in Poitou. But he was still under excommunication, (Pandulph had prudently reserved the absolution till John had fulfilled the terms of the treaty by the reception of the exiled prelates.) The barons refused to follow the banner of the kingdom, raised by an excommunicated monarch. John was compelled to fulfill his agreement to the utmost; to drink the dregs of humiliation. July 20, 1213. St. Margaret's Day. The exiled prelates, Stephen of Canterbury, William of London, Eustace of Ely, Hubert of Lincoln, Giles of Hereford, landed at Dover; they proceeded to Winchester:[o] there they were met before the gates by John; he fell at their feet and shed tears. The prelates raised him up, mingling, it is said, their tears with his; they conducted him into the church; they pronounced the absolution. King John swore on the Gospels to defend the Church and the priesthood; he swore also to re-establish the good laws of his predecessors, especially those of King Edward; to abrogate the bad laws; to judge every

[o] Wendover, p. 260.

man according to his right. He swore also to make ample restitution, under pain of a second excommunication, of all which he had confiscated during the exile of the prelates. He again swore fealty to the Pope and his Catholic successors.

John, now free from ecclesiastical censures, embarked for Poitou in the full hope that the realm of England would follow him in dutiful obedience. Most of the barons stood sullenly aloof; those who embarked abandoned him at Jersey. This was the first overt act in the momentous strife of the Barons of England for the liberties of England, which ended in the signature of the great Charter; and at the head of these Barons was Stephen Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry II. when he raised Becket to the Primacy of England, in order by his means to establish the temporal supremacy of the King over the Church, had not more completely mistaken the character of the man, than Innocent when he raised Langton to the same dignity, to maintain all the exorbitant pretensions of Rome over England. Langton, a more enlightened churchman, remembered not only that he was an Archbishop, but that he was an Englishman and a noble of England. He had asserted with the Pope the liberties of the Church against the King; he asserted the liberties of England against the same King, though supported by the Pope. Almost the first act of Langton was to take the initiative in the cause of the barons. John returned from Jersey in fury against the contumacious nobles; he declared his determination to revenge himself, summoned troops to execute his vengeance. Langton sought him at Northampton, and remonstrated at his arming against his barons before they had been arraigned and found guilty in the royal courts, as a violation of the oath sworn before his absolution. The King dismissed him with scorn, commanding him not to meddle in state affairs. But Langton followed him to Nottingham; threatened to excommunicate every one who should engage in this war before a fair trial had taken place, excepting only the King himself.[p] The King sullenly con-

[p] Wendover, p. 261.

sented to convoke a plenary court of his nobles. One meeting of the Primate and the nobles had taken place at St. Albans; a second, ostensibly to regulate the claims of the Church upon the crown, was convened in St. Paul's, London. Langton there produced to the barons the charter of Henry I.; the barons received it with loud acclamations, and took a solemn oath to conquer or die in defence of their liberties.[q]

At Michaelmas arrived the new legate, Nicolas Cardinal of Tusculum: his special mission was the settlement as to the amount to be paid by the king for the losses endured by the clergy. He was received, though the interdict still lingered on the realm till the king should have given full satisfaction, with splendid processions.[r] His first act was to degrade the Abbot of Westminster, accused by his monks of dilapidation of their estates, and of incontinence. The citizens of Oxford were condemned for the murder of two clerks (not without provocation): they were to present themselves at each of the churches of the city naked to their shirts, with a scourge in their hand, and to request absolution, reciting the fiftieth psalm, from the parish priest. The Cardinal, who travelled at first with seven horses, had soon a cavalcade of fifty. The amount of just compensation to the clergy it was impossible to calculate. Their castles had been razed, their houses burned, their orchards and their woods cut down. John offered the gross sum of 100,000 marks. The Legate urged its acceptance, but was suspected of favouring the King. The bishops received in advance 1500 marks, and the affair was for the present adjourned. On the payment of this sum the interdict was raised, but what further compensation was awarded to the inferior claimants does not appear. Still meeting after meeting took place, at length the business was referred to the Pope, who awarded to the Archbishop, the Bishops of London and Ely, the sum of 40,000 marks. At St. Paul's the King gave greater form and pomp to his disgraceful act of vassalage.[s] Before the high

[q] Wendover, p. 263. See the charter.
[r] Wendover, p. 275.
[s] "Illa non formosa sed famosa subjectio."—M. Paris.

altar, in the presence of the clergy and people, John deposed his crown in the hands of the Legate, and made the formal resignation of the kingdom of England and Ireland.[t] The golden seal was affixed to the deed of demission and consigned to the Pope. John did actual homage to the Legate for the kingdom of England. It was said that Stephen Langton had protested even at Winchester against this act of national humiliation. But if Langton bore this second act in silence, it was manifest that he had fallen in the favour of the Pope. The Pope was determined to support his vassal, whatever his iniquities, vices, crimes. Langton had now openly espoused the cause of his country's liberties. The Legate was empowered, without consulting the Primate or the Bishops, to appoint to all the vacant benefices; he travelled through the country attended by the royal officers and the clergy attached to the King; he filled the churches with unworthy men, or men at least thought unworthy; he suspended many ecclesiastics, and tauntingly told them to carry their complaints to Rome, while he seized their property and left them nothing to defray the expenses of their journey.[u] He trampled on the rights of patrons, and appointed his own clerks, many probably foreigners, to English preferments. His progress, instead of being a blessing to the land, was deemed a malediction. His final raising of the interdict was hardly a compensation for his insolent injustice. The Pope no doubt shared in the unpopularity of these proceedings. Stephen Langton the Primate summoned a council of his bishops at Dunstable; and sent certain priests to inhibit the Legate from inducting prelates and priests within the realm. Both appealed to the Pope. The Legate sent the politic Pandulph, Stephen Langton Simon his bold brother, who afterwards held the archbishopric of York in despite of Papal prohibition, to the

Second surrender of the realm.

[t] "Archiepiscopo conquerente et reclamante."—M. Paris. But the words are not in Wendover. Could it be the Archbishop of Dublin? The French translator of Matthew Paris, Mons. Huillard Breholles, would transfer these complaints as if spoken at Dover, to this second transaction. This is taking great liberty with a text; but it is clear that they were not made by Stephen Langton at Dover; he had not then arrived in England.

[u] "Spreto archepiscopi et episcoporum regni consilio."—Wendover, p. 277.

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court of Innocent. But the charter of John's submission weighed down all the arguments of Simon Langton.[x]

The great battle of Bouvines in Flanders, which annihilated the hopes of the Emperor Otho, and placed the Count of Flanders, as a prisoner, at the mercy of the merciless Philip Augustus, recalled John from Poitou, where he had made a vigorous, and for a time successful descent, discomfited, soured in temper, to confront his barons, now prepared for the deadly strife in defence of their liberties. Throughout the contest, so long as he was in England, the Primate maintained a lofty position. With the other higher clergy he stood aloof from the active contest, though he was known to be the real head of the confederacy. He was not present at the great meeting at St. Edmondsbury; he appeared not in arms; he does not seem to have left the court; the demand for the charter of Henry I. came entirely from the lay barons. On the presentation of that address he consented, with the Bishop of Ely and William Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, to be the king's sureties that he would hear and take into consideration the demands of his subjects,[y] and satisfy if he might their discontents. While the appeal to arms was yet in suspense, John, with that craft which in a nobler mind might have been wise policy, endeavoured to detach the church from the cause of the national liberties. The clergy had been indemnified for their losses, but still there was an old and inveterate grievance, the despotic power exercised by the Norman princes in the nomination to vacant bishoprics and abbacies. On the rare occasions in the early part of his reign, when he gave the royal licence for the election of a bishop or great abbot, the electors were summoned before the king; an election in the royal presence was not likely to be against the royal will. During the interdict John's revenge (it was probably the source of the enormous wealth which he had at his command) had seized the revenue of these unfilled benefices. On his reconciliation with the Roman See, elections were to be in his presence, whether he were in England or on

July 23, 1214.

Meeting at St. Edmondsbury. A.D. 1214.

Address. Epiphany, 1215.

[x] Wendover, p. 279.

[y] Ibid., p. 296.

the continent. This he relaxed only on the remonstrance of the Archbishop, to permit them to take place, during his absence, before commissioners. But still the nomination was virtually in him, and him alone. He was now seized with an access of pious liberality, granted a charter of free election to all chapters and conventual churches: the charter declared that the royal licence would always be granted; if not granted, was no bar to the free election; he renounced all royal influence, and promised the royal approbation unless the King could allege lawful objection.[z] That he might secure still further the protection of the church, John took the cross, and declared his intention to proceed, when relieved from his pressing cares, to the recovery of the Holy Land.

Each party endeavoured to obtain the support of Rome. The barons had aided powerfully the cause of the Church in the former contest, and now the Church, at least the Primate, made common cause with the barons. But Innocent reserved his gratitude for the vassal who had laid the crown of England at his feet. "We must maintain the rights of, repel all insurrection against a king who is our vassal."[a] In truth he understood not the nature, no more than he foresaw the remote consequences of the conflict. That the Church should resist, control, dictate to the temporal sovereign, was in the order of things: that other subjects should do the same, whatever the iniquities of the sovereign, or the invasion of their natural or chartered rights, unless in defence of the Church, bordered on impiety. Langton received a severe rebuke; he was accused as the secret ringleader in this rebellion; he was commanded to labour for the reconciliation of the king and his subjects. The barons were censured for daring to attempt to extort privileges by force from the crown—privileges to be obtained only as a free gift from the King; the Pope condescended to promise

[z] The document is in Rymer.

[a] Such were the plain words of a memorable letter of Pope Innocent (published by Prynne from the original in the Tower, p. 28). He adds: "Contra dominum suum arma movere temeritate nefariâ præsumpserunt, quodque nefandum est et absurdum cum ipse rex quasi perversus Deum et Ecclesiam offendebat, illi assistebant eidem, cum autem conversus Deo et Ecclesiæ satisfecit, ipsum impugnare præsumunt."

his good offices in their behalf if they humbled themselves before their sovereign. Of his sole authority the Pope annulled all their leagues and covenants. The Pope rebuked, censured, promised in vain.

Arms must decide the strife. At the great meeting of the barons at Brackley, Langton and the Earl of Pembroke (the Bishop of Ely was now dead), again appeared in the King's name to receive the final demands of the barons. So high were their demands, that the king exclaimed in a fury:[a] "They may as well ask my kingdom; think they that I will be their slave?" But though the barons failed before Northampton, Bedford and London opened their gates. The great barons Pembroke, Warenne, and many others who had still appeared at least to be on the king's side, joined Fitzwalter and his party, the Northern Barons as they were called. London was the head-quarters of the King's adversaries. The whole realm was one. The King was compelled to submit to the great Charter. Among the witnesses to that Charter, the first were Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Archbishop of Dublin. The first article guaranteed the rights of the Church, not indeed more strongly than by the charter before granted by the King, and which had received the ratification of the Pope. The Papal envoy Pandulph was present at the august ceremony. Pope Innocent saw in this movement only the turbulence of a few factious barons; he received the representations of John's ambassadors with great indignation; he knit his brow (so writes the historian), and broke out into the language of astonishment:[b] "What, have the barons of England presumed to dethrone a King who has taken the cross, and placed himself under the protection of the Apostolic See? Do they transfer to others the patrimony of the Church of Rome? By St. Peter, we cannot leave such a crime unpunished." If such unseemly language was attributed to the Pope, the formal acts of Innocent might almost justify such reports of his conduct. In his Bull[c] he attributes the rebellion of the barons, after John had been reconciled to the Church, to the enemy

Magna Charta. 1215, June 15.

[a] Wendover, p. 298. [b] Wendover, p. 313. [c] Rymer, i. p. 135.

of mankind. He is astonished that the barons have not humbly brought their grievances before his tribunal, and implored redress. The act describes the conduct of the King as throughout just, conciliatory. "Vassals, they have conspired against their lord—knights, against their king: they have assailed his lands, seized his capital city, which has been surrendered to them by treason. Under their violence, and under fears which might shake the firmest man, he has entered into a treaty with the barons; a treaty not only base and ignominious, but unlawful and unjust; in flagrant violation and diminution of his rights and honour. Wherefore, as the Lord has said by the mouth of his prophet,—'I have set thee above the nations, and above the kingdoms, to pluck up and to destroy, to build up and to plant;' and by the mouth of another prophet,—'break the leagues of ungodliness, and loose the heavy burthens;' we can no longer pass over in silence such audacious wickedness, committed in contempt of the Apostolic See, in infringement of the rights of the King, to the disgrace of the kingdom of England, to the great peril of the Crusade. We therefore, with the advice of our brethren, altogether reprove and condemn this charter, prohibiting the king under pain of anathema, from observing it, the barons from exacting its observation; we declare the said charter, with all its obligations and guarantees, absolutely null and void."[d] Condemned by Pope Innocent.

The letter of Innocent to the Barons was no less lofty and commanding. He informed them that as they refused all just terms offered by the King, a fair judgment in the court of Rome, the King had appealed to him his liege lord. He urged them to make a virtue of necessity, themselves to renounce this inauspicious treaty, to make reparation to the King for all losses and outrages perpetrated against him, "so that the King, appeased by their reverence and humility, might himself be induced to reform any real abuses." "For if we will not that he be deprived of his right, we will not have you oppressed, nor the kingdom of England, which is under our suzerainty, to groan under bad customs and unjust Innocent's letter.

[d] Dated Anagni, Aug. 4.

exactions." They were summoned to depute representatives to the court of Rome, and await the final decision of that tribunal.

The Great Charter of the liberties of England was absolutely, peremptorily annulled, by the supreme authority of the Pope, as Pope and as liege lord of the realm. The King was absolutely released from his oath to the statute; the King threatened with anathema if he observed, the barons if they exacted the observance.[e] Still the rebukes, promises, threats of spiritual censure, the annulling edict, were received with utter disregard by the sturdy barons. They retorted the language of the Scripture, the phrase of Isaiah is said to have been current among them,—"Woe unto him who justifieth the wicked for reward!"

War. The war had broken out; the King, with the aid of two of his warlike bishops, the Chancellor Bishop of Worcester, and John de Gray of Norwich, had levied hosts of mercenary troops in Flanders: freebooters from all quarters, from Poitou and other parts of France, crowded to win the estates of the English barons, which were offered as rewards for their valour. John was pressing the siege of Rochester, which the remissness of the barons allowed to fall into his hands. He was only prevented by the prudence of one of his foreign captains, who dreaded reprisals, from ordering a general massacre of the garrison. The bull of excommunication against the barons followed rapidly the abrogation of the Charter. It was addressed to Peter Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading, and the Papal Envoy. It expressed the utmost astonishment and wrath, that Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury, and his suffragans, had shown such want of respect to the Papal mandate and of fidelity to their King; that they had rendered him no aid against the disturbers of the peace; that they had been privy to, if not actively engaged in the rebellious league. "Is it thus that these prelates defend the patrimony of Rome; thus that they protect those who have taken up the cross? Worse than Saracens

[e] Magna Charta the Pope describes as "compositionem non solum vilem et turpem, verum etiam illicitam et iniquam, in nimiam diminutionem et derogationem sui juris pariter et honoris." The documents in Rymer, sub ann.

they would drive from his realm a King in whom is the best hope of the deliverance of the Holy Land." All disturbers of the King and of the realm are declared to be in the bonds of excommunication; the Primate and his suffragans are solemnly enjoined to publish this excommunication in all the churches of the realm, every Sunday and festival, with the sound of bells, until the barons shall have made their absolute submission to the King. Every prelate who disobeys these orders is suspended from his functions.

The Bishop of Winchester, the Abbot of Reading, and Pandulph in a personal interview with the primate communicated the injunctions of the Pope. Stephen Langton demanded delay; he was about to proceed to Rome, being summoned to attend the Lateran Council. He firmly refused to publish the excommunication, as obtained from the Pope by false representations.[f] The Papal Delegates declared the Primate suspended from his office, and proceeded to promulgate the sentence of excommunication. The sentence was utterly without effect. An incident of the time shows how strongly the sympathies of the clergy were with Langton. The Canons of York after a long vacancy of the archbishopric,[g] rejecting Walter de Grey Bishop of Worcester, the Chancellor and partisan of John, chose Simon Langton, the brother of the primate. Two brothers, for the first and last time, held these high dignities. The Pope, it is true, prohibited the elevation of Langton; but his election was a defiance of the King and of the Pope. The Primate, A.D. 1215. strong in the blameless dignity of his character, in the consciousness that he was acting as a Christian prelate in opposing a lustful, perfidious, and sanguinary tyrant like John, in his dignity as Cardinal of the Roman Church, feared not to confront the Pope, and to present

[f] "Dissensiones ... dissimulastis hactenus, et conniventibus oculis pertransitis .... nonnullis suspicantibus .... quod vos illis præbetis auxilium et favorem."—Rymer, sub ann. 1215. John had complained to the Pope: "Dominus vero Cantuarensis Archiepiscopus et ejus suffraganei mandata vestra executioni demandare supersederunt ... Archiepiscopus respondens, ut quod sententiam excommunicationis in eos nullo modo proferret, qui bene sciebat mentem vestram."—Langton agreed, however, if John would revoke his orders for his foreign mercenaries, to pronounce the excommunication.—Rymer, 1215.

[g] From 1212.

himself at the great Lateran Council. The favour, how-
Nov. 1215. Stephen at Rome. ever, with which the Pontiff and the Council heard his accusers, the envoys of King John, the Abbot of Beaulieu, Thomas of Herdington, and Geoffrey of Cracombe, the unbending severity of the Pope himself, covered him, it is said, with confusion; at least taught him the prudence of silence: the sentence of suspension was solemnly ratified by Pope and Council, and even when it was subsequently relaxed, it was on the condition that he should not return to England. Stephen Langton remained at Rome though not in custody, yet no less a prisoner. The Canons of York were informed that the Pope absolutely annulled the election of Simon Langton; they were compelled to make a virtue of necessity, to affect joy at being permitted to elect the Bishop of Worcester, a man they acknowledged, it should seem, of one rare virtue—unblemished chastity. De Grey returned Archbishop of York, but covered with a heavy debt to the court of Rome, 10,000*l.* sterling.[h]

When John let loose his ferocious hordes of adventurers from Flanders, Brabant, Poitou, and other countries like wild beasts upon his unhappy realm; when himself ravaged in the north, his bastard brother the Earl of Salisbury in the south; when the whole land was wasted with fire and sword; when plunder, murder, torture, rape, raged without control; when agriculture and even markets had absolutely ceased, the buyers and sellers met only in churchyards, because they were sanctuaries;[i] when the clergy were treated with the same impartial cruelty as the rest of the people, John was still the ally, the vassal, under the special protection of the Pope. These terrible triumphs of his arms were backed by the
June, 1216. sentence of excommunication against the barons and all their adherents.[k] Many of the noblest barons were anathematised by name; above all, the citizens

[h] Wendover, p. 346. He adds:—"Itaque accepto pallio episcopus memoratus, obligatur in curiâ Romanâ de decem millibus libris legalium sterlingorum."

[i] Wendover, p. 351.

[k] Wendover, p. 353. The three acts of excommunication against the barons, of suspension against Stephen Langton, the special anathema on certain barons, with their names, are in Rymer.

of London and the Cinque Ports, for the capital boasted itself as the head-quarters of the champions of freedom. The citizens of London however treated the spiritual censure with utter contempt, the services went on uninterrupted and exactly in the usual manner in all the churches.

So also when the Barons in their desperation offered the crown to Louis, the son of Philip Augustus of France. The legate Gualo, then on his way to England, solemnly warned Louis not to dare to invade the patrimony of St. Peter, a menace not likely to awe a son of Philip Augustus with such a prize before him. Louis indeed showed a kind of mockery of deference to the Pope, in submitting to the Holy See a statement of the title which he set up to the throne of England.[m] This rested on the right of his Queen, even if the house of Castile had any claim, a younger daughter of that house; its first postulate was the absolute exclusion of John, as attainted of murder during the reign of his brother Richard, and incapable thereby of inheriting the crown; and of the murder of his nephew, of which he had been found guilty in the court of the King of France. With the original flaw in the title of John fell of course his right to grant the island to St. Peter; and so the claim of Louis to the throne was an abrogation of that of Innocent to the suzerainty of the land. No wonder then that the sentence of excommunication was launched at once against Louis himself, and all who should invite, assist, support his descent upon England. The last act of Innocent was to command an excommunication as solemn of the King of France himself, for guiltily conniving at least at an invasion of England, to be pronounced at a great synod at Melun. The French prelates interposed delay; and the death of Pope Innocent suspended for a time the execution of this mandate. July 16, 1216.

The death of Innocent was followed in but a few

[m] See Rymer for the document in which Louis alleged his title to the throne of England. Louis asserts the truth of the account, that Archbishop Hubert publicly announced that on the accession of John "non ratione successionis, sed per electionem ipsum in regem coronabat."—Rymer, sub ann. 1216.

months by that of John, under fierce affliction for the loss of his baggage and part of his wild freebooting army, which had remorselessly ravaged great part of the kingdom, by sudden floods, as he passed from Lynn in Norfolk into Lincolnshire. John reached the Abbey of Swineshead. The intemperate indulgence in fruit excited his fever; he there made his will,[n] left his young son to the tutelage of the new Pope Honorius III., and dragged his weary and exhausted body to Newark. There he died in peace with the Church, having received the holy Eucharist, commending his body and his soul to the intercession of the pious St. Wolstan in Worcester, under the tutelar shade of whose cathedral he wished his ashes to repose. John died in peace with the Church, it was of course believed with heaven, leaving Stephen Langton the Primate, a Cardinal of the church, suspended from his holy functions, in a kind of stately disgrace, an exile from his See; the greater part of the higher clergy under virtual excommunication as communicating with the proscribed barons; almost the whole nobility under actual excommunication, and so in peril of eternal perdition.

Oct. 19.

Thus closed the eventful reign of the meanest and most despicable sovereign who ever sat on the throne of England. Political passions, the pride of ingenuity, the love of paradox, have endeavoured to lighten the burthen of obloquy which have weighed down the memory of most of our least worthy sovereigns. Richard III. has found an apologist. But John has been abandoned utterly, absolutely, to execration and contempt. Yet from the reign of John dates, if not the first dawn, the first concentrated power of the liberties of England. A memorable example of the wonderful manner in which Divine Providence overrules the worst of men to its noblest and most beneficent designs. From this time, too, the impulses of religious independence began to stir in the hearts of men. The national English pride had been deeply wounded by the

[n] The attesting witnesses to his will were the Cardinal Legate Gualo, the Bishops of Winchester, Chichester, Worcester, Aimeric de St. Maur, or Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, Earl of Chester, Earl of Ferrars, Wm. Browne, Walter de Lacy, John de Monmout, Savary de Mauleon, Fulk de Breauté.

degradation of the realm to a fief of the See of Rome; and the ambition of Rome had overleaped itself.[o] Future Popes were tempted to lay intolerable taxation upon the clergy, which was felt by the whole kingdom; and to inflict the almost more intolerable grievance, the filling up the English benefices by foreign ecclesiastics—if not resident, hated as draining away their wealth without condescending to regard any duties; if resident, hated still more profoundly for their pride, ignorance of the language, uncongenial manners. Our history must show this gradual alienation and estrangement of the national mind from the See of Rome, the silent growth of Teutonic freedom.

[o] The historians, all ecclesiastics, are undeniable witnesses. We have heard Wendover. Westminster describes the charter of surrender as "omnibus eam audientibus lugubrem et detestabilem."—Ann. 1213, p. 93. Knighton says, "De libero fecit se servum, de dominante servientem, terramque Angliæ nam quæ solebat esse libera et ab omni servitute quieta, fecit tributariam et ancillam pedissequam."—De event. Angliæ, l. ii. c. 25.

CHAPTER VI.

INNOCENT AND SPAIN.

The three great Sovereigns of Western Europe, the Kings of Germany, of France, and England, had seen their realms under Papal interdict, themselves under the sentence of excommunication; but the Papal power under Innocent not only aspired to humble the loftiest: hardly one of the smaller kingdoms had not already been taught, or was not soon taught to feel the awful majesty of the Papacy. From the Northern Ocean to Hungary, from Hungary to the Spanish shore of the Atlantic, Innocent is exercising what takes the language of protective or parental authority, but which in most cases is asserted by the terrible interdict. The sunshine of Papal favour is rarely without the black thunder-clouds looming heavily over the land, breaking or threatening to break in all their wrath. Nowhere is he more constantly engaged, either as claiming feudal sovereignty, as regulating the ecclesiastical appointments, as, above all, the arbiter in questions of marriage, than among the sovereigns of the petty kingdoms of Spain. These kingdoms had gradually formed themselves out of conquests from receding Mahommedanism. Spanish Christianity was a perpetual crusade; and the Head of Western Christendom might still watch with profound anxiety these advances, as it were, of Christendom. There was nothing to prevent another inroad from Africa, ruled by powerful Mahommedan potentates; nothing, till the great battle of Naves de Tolosa, to guarantee Western Christendom from a new invasion as terrible as that under Tarik. A second battle of Tours might be necessary to rescue Europe from the dominion of the Crescent.

July 16, 1212. Innocent had the happiness to hear the tidings of Naves de Tolosa, where the Crescent fell before the united armies of the three Kings of Castile, Arragon, and

Navarre. To each of these Peninsular kingdoms—Portugal, Leon, Castile, Arragon, and Navarre, Innocent speaks in the tone of a master; each, except perhaps Arragon, is in its turn threatened with interdict, his one ordinary means of compulsion.

Portugal had been formed into a Christian State by the valour of a descendant of the house of Capet; it had been organised by the wisdom of his son Sancho. The Popes had already asserted the strange pretensions that territories conquered from the Unbelievers were at their disposal, and that they had the power of raising principalities into kingdoms. Alexander III. had advanced Portugal to that dignity on condition of an annual tribute to the See of Rome. The payment was irregularly made, if not disclaimed. Innocent instructs his Legate, the Brother Rainer, a man of great discretion and trust, employed on all the affairs of Spain, to demand the subsidy; if refused, to compel it by the only authority—ecclesiastical censure. The King of Portugal is to be reminded that he may expect great temporal as well as spiritual advantage from his filial submission to the Supreme Pontiff; but if God is offended by the withholding their rightful dues from other churches, how much more grievous a sin, how heinous a sacrilege is it to deprive of its full rights the Church which is the mistress of all Churches.[a] In the same arbitrary manner, and by the same means, Rainer was to compel the Kings of Portugal and Castile to maintain a treaty of peace, on which they had agreed, and to resist the intrigues of turbulent men, who endeavoured to plunge them again into war. Henry of Portugal.

In the affairs of Leon and Castile Innocent interposed in his character as supreme arbiter on all questions of marriage. On the death of Alfonso the Emperor,[b] the great kingdom of Leon had been divided between his two sons, the Kings of Leon and Castile, Fernando and Sancho. The second generation was now on each throne; both the princes bore the name of Alfonso. But instead of urging the war against the common enemy, the Unbeliever, these princes had turned their arms against each

[a] Epist. i. 99, 449. [b] Mariana, xi.

other. Alfonso of Leon had married the daughter of the King of Portugal. These sovereigns were connected by some remote tie of consanguinity; the incestuous union was declared void. Cœlestine III. placed under interdict the two kingdoms of Portugal and Leon, and the marriage, though Teresa had borne him three children (one son and two daughters), was absolutely annulled. The repudiated Teresa returned to her native Portugal.[c] But Alfonso of Leon broke off this wedlock only to form another more obnoxious to the ecclesiastical canons. He married Berengaria, the daughter of his cousin-german the King of Castile. The nobles of both realms rejoiced in this union, as a guarantee for peace between Castile and Leon. They would entertain no doubt that the Papal dispensation might be obtained for a marriage, though within the prohibited degrees, yet by no means offensive to the natural feelings in the West, and of so much importance in directing the united arms of Leon and Castile against the Mohammedans. But to this deviation from the sacred canons the Pope Cœlestine had expressed his determination not to accede: he sent the Cardinal Guido of St. Angelo to prohibit this second profane wedlock. The Cardinal was to pronounce the interdict against both realms, excommunication against both Sovereigns, unless the hateful contract be annulled. Under this sentence were included, as abettors of the sin, the Archbishop of Salamanca, the Bishops of Zamora, Astorga, and Leon. The Bishop of Oviedo was persecuted by the King of Leon, as inclined to obey the Pope rather than his temporal sovereign.[d] Innocent was not likely to be indulgent where his predecessor had been severe. To this marriage he applies the strongest terms of censure: it is incestuous, abominable to God, detestable in the sight of man. The Brother Rainer is ordered to ratify in the most solemn manner the interdict of the kingdoms, the excommunication of the Kings. Rainer cited the Kings to appear before him. The King

The King of Leon.

[c] Innocent's language is express as to the revocation of the marriage: "Filiam . . . Portugalliæ regis, incestuose præsumpserat copulare. . . . . unde quod illegitimè factum erat, est penitus revocatum."—Epist. ii. 75. "Verum dictus Rex Legion. ad deteriora manum extendens."—Compare Mariana, xi. 17.

[d] Epist. i. 58, 97, 125.

of Leon paid no regard to the summons; the King of Castile averted the interdict for a time by declaring his readiness to receive back his daughter. But he had no intention to restore certain castles which he had obtained as her dowry. The Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Palencia on the part of the King of Castile, the Bishop of Zamora on that of the King of Leon, appeared in Rome. They could hardly obtain a hearing from the inexorable Pontiff. But their representations of the effects of the interdict enforced the consideration of the Pope. They urged the danger as to the heretics. When the lips of the pastors of the people were closed, the unrefuted heretics could not be controlled by the power of the King. New heresies spring up in every quarter. How great, too, the danger as to the Saracens! The religious services and the religious sermons alone inflamed the valour of the people to the holy war against the misbelievers; their devotion, now that both prince and people were involved in one interdict, waxed cold. Nor less the danger as to the Catholics, for since the clergy refused their spiritual services, the people refused their temporal payments; offerings, first-fruits, tithes, were cut off; the clergy were reduced to beg, to dig, or, worse reproach, to be the slaves of the Jews. The Pope, with great reluctance, consented to relax the severity of the interdict, to permit the performance of the sacred offices, except the burial of the dead in consecrated ground; this was granted to the clergy alone as a special favour. But the King himself was still under the ban of excommunication; whatever town or village he entered, all divine service ceased; no one was to dare to celebrate an act of holy worship. This mandate was addressed to the Archbishop of Compostella and to all the Bishops of the kingdom of Leon.[e]

But his wife had been still further endeared to the King of Leon by the birth of a son;[f] and so regardless were the Leonese clergy of the Papal decree, that the baptism of the child was celebrated publicly with the utmost pomp in the cathedral church of Leon. Innocent had compared together the royal line of the East and of the West. In

[e] Epist. ii. 75. [f] The son by Teresa had died in infancy. Mariana, *loc. cit.*

the East, Isabella, the heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, had contracted two incestuous marriages within the prohibited degrees. God had smitten with death her two husbands, Conrad of Montferrat and Henry of Champagne. He would even inflict worse vengeance on the transgressors of the West, if they persisted in their detestable deed. His vaticination was singularly unfortunate. The son of this unblessed union grew up a king of the most exemplary valour, virtue, and prosperity; and after his death the canonized Ferdinand was admitted into the holy assembly of the Saints. Nor was it till Berengaria had borne five children to Alfonso of Leon that her own religious scruples were awakened, and she retired from the arms of her husband to a peaceful retreat in the dominions of her father. The ban under which the kingdom had laboured for nearly five years was annulled; the five children were declared legitimate and capable of inheriting the crown. The dispute concerning the border castles was arranged by the intervention of the bishops.

A.D. 1199.

The King of Navarre had incurred the interdict of Innocent on more intelligible grounds. He had made an impious treaty with the Infidels; he had even undertaken a suspicious visit to the Miramamolin in Africa; he was supposed to be organising a league with the Mohammedans both of Spain and Africa against his enemies the Kings of Arragon and Castile: on him and on his realm Brother Rainer was at once to pronounce the ban, and to give lawful power to the King of Arragon to subdue his dominions. Sancho of Navarre, however, averted the subjugation of the realm: he entered into a treaty with the allied Kings of Arragon and Castile. It was stipulated in the terms of the treaty that Pedro of Arragon should wed the sister of Navarre. But again was heard the voice of the Pope, declaring that the marriage, though the pledge and surety of peace, and of Sancho's loyalty to the cause of Christendom, being within the third degree of consanguinity, could not be. The oath which Sancho had taken to fulfil this stipulation was worse than perjury; it was to be broken at all cost and all hazard.[8]

A.D. 1204. King of Navarre.

[8] Epist. i. 556. Compare Abarca Anales de Aragon, xviii. 7.

But thus inexorable to any breach of the ecclesiastical canons, so entirely had these canons usurped the A.D. 1199. King of Arragon. place of the higher and immutable laws of Christian morals, here, as in the case of John of England, Innocent himself was, if not accommodating, strangely blind to the sin of marriage contracted under more unhallowed auspices. Pedro of Arragon was the model of Spanish chivalry on the throne. He aspired to be the leader of a great crusading league of all the Spanish kings against the Unbelievers. Innocent himself had the prudence to allay for a time the fervour of A.D. 1204. his zeal. The court of Pedro, like that of his brother, the Count of Provence, was splendid, gay, and dissolute: the troubadour was welcome, with his music, and his song, to the joyous prince and the bevy of fair ladies, who were not insensible to the gallant King or to the amorous bards. But Pedro, while he encouraged the gay science of Provence, was inexorable to its religious freedom. He was hitherto severely orthodox, and banished all heresy from his dominions under pain of death. The kingdom flourished under his powerful rule: the King's peace was proclaimed for the protection of widows and orphans, roads and markets, oxen at the plough and all agricultural implements, olive-trees, and dovecotes. The husbandman found a protector, his harvests security, under the King's rule.[h]

The Kings of Arragon had never been crowned on their accession; they received only the honour of knighthood. From Counts of Barcelona, owing allegiance to the descendants of Charlemagne, they had gradually risen to the dignity of Kings of Arragon. But the last sign of kingship was wanting, and Pedro determined to purchase that honour from the hand which assumed the power of dispensing crowns: he would receive the crown at Rome from the Pope himself, and as the price of this condescension hesitated not to declare the kingdom of Arragon feudatory to the See of Rome, and to covenant for an annual tribute to St. Peter. On his journey to Rome he visited his brother at his court in Provence. The

[h] Hurter. p. 598.

beauty and the rich inheritance of Maria, the only daughter of the Count of Montpellier, whose mother was Eudoxia, the daughter of the Emperor of the East, attracted the gallant and ambitious Pedro. There was an impediment to the marriage, it might have been supposed, more insuperable than the ties of consanguinity. She was already married, and had borne two children, to the Count of Comminges;[i] she afterwards, indeed, asserted the nullity of this marriage, on the plea that the Count of Comminges had two wives living at the time of his union with her. But the easy Provençal clergy raised no remonstrance. Innocent, if rumours reached him (he could hardly be ignorant), closed his ears to that which was not brought before him by regular appeal. The espousals took place at Montpellier,[k] and Pedro set forth again for Rome. He sailed from Marseilles to Genoa, from Genoa to Ostia. He was received with great state: two hundred horsemen welcomed him to the shore; the Senator of Rome, the Cardinals, went out to meet him; he was received by the Pope himself in St. Peter's; his lodging was with the Canons of that church.

Nov. 8, 1204.

Three days after took place the coronation of the new feudatory king (thus was an example set to the King of England) in the Church of San Pancrazio beyond the Tiber, in the presence of all the civilians, ecclesiastical dignitaries of Rome, and of the Roman people.[m] He was anointed by the Bishop of Porto, and invested in all the insignia of royalty—the robe, the mantle, the sceptre, the golden apple, the crown, and the mitre. He swore this oath of allegiance:—"I, Pedro, King of Arragon, profess and declare that I will be true and loyal to my lord the Pope Innocent, and to his Catholic successors in the See of Rome; that I will maintain my realm in fidelity

[i] "Si bien Doña Maria di Mompeller fue en *santitud* y valor ornamento de el estado de Reynas, y traia en dote tan ricos y oportunos pueblos." Abarca, indeed, says, "Ella ni era hermosa ni doncella." He adds that she had been forced to this marriage, neither legitimate nor public, with the Count of Comminges; see also on her two daughters, and the count's two wives—i. p. 225.

[k] He soon repented of his ill-sorted marriage. Abarca says he set off "para salir el bien de ellos (desvios de el Rey con la Reyna); y alexarse mas de ella," and hoped to get a divorce from the Pope.

[m] St. Martin's day. Gesta, c. 120.

and obedience to him, defend the Catholic faith, and prosecute all heretical pravity; protect the liberties and rights of the Church; and in all the territories under my dominion maintain peace and justice. So help me God and his Holy Gospel."

The King, in his royal attire, proceeded to the Church of St. Peter. There he cast aside his crown and sceptre, surrendered his kingdom into the hands of the Pope, and received again the investiture by the sword, presented to the Pope. He laid on the altar a parchment, in which he placed his realm under the protection of St. Peter; and bound himself and his successors to the annual tribute of two hundred gold pieces.[n] So was Arragon a fief of the Roman See; but it was not without much sullen protest of the high-minded Arragonese. They complained of it as a base surrender of their liberties; as affording an opening to the Pope to interfere in the internal affairs of the kingdom with measures more perilous to their honour and liberty. Their discontent was aggravated by heavy burthens laid upon them by the King. They complained that in his private person he was prodigal, and rapacious as a ruler. When these proceedings were proclaimed at Huesca, they were met with an outburst of reprobation, not only from the people, but from all the nobles and hidalgos of the kingdom.[o] Pedro of Arragon will again appear as Count of Montpellier, in right of his wife, if not on the side of those against whom the Pope had sanctioned a crusade on account of their heretical pravity; yet as the mortal foe, as falling in battle before the arms of the leader of that crusade, Simon de Montfort.

The lesser kingdoms of Europe, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland—those on the Baltic—were not beyond the sphere of Innocent's all-embracing watchfulness, more especially Bohemia, on account of its close relation to the Empire. The Duke of Bohemia had dared to receive the royal crown from the excommunicated Philip.[p] March 1, 1201.

[n] They bore the Moorish name of Massimute, from the King Jussuf Masemut; each was worth six solidi.

[o] Mariana, lib. xi. p. 362. "Solo alegre para los Romanos; y despues infeliz y triste para los Aragoneses."—Abarca. King Pedro did not succeed in getting rid of his wife.

[p] Epist. i. 707.

The Pope lifts up his voice in solemn rebuke. The Bohemian shows some disposition to fall off to Otho; the great prelates of Prague and Olmutz are ordered to employ all their spiritual power to confirm and strengthen him in that cause. Hopes are held out that Bohemia may be honoured by a metropolitan see.

To the King of Denmark Innocent has been seen as the protector of his injured daughter; throughout, Denmark looks to Rome alone for justice and for redress. Even Thule, the new and more remote Thule, is not inaccessible to the sovereign of Christian Rome. We read a lofty but affectionate letter addressed to the bishops and nobles of Iceland.[q] A legate is sent to that island. They are warned not to submit to the excommunicated and apostate priest Swero, who aspired to the throne of Norway. Yet, notwithstanding the Pope, Swero the apostate founded a dynasty which for many generations held the throne of Norway.

The kingdom of Hungary might seem under the special protection of Innocent III.: it was his aim to urge those warlike princes to enter on the Crusades. Bela III. died, not having fulfilled his vow of proceeding to the Holy Land. To his elder son Emeric he bequeathed his kingdom; to the younger, Andrew, a vast treasure, accumulated for this pious end, and the accomplishment of his father's holy vow. Andrew squandered the money, notwithstanding the Pope's rebukes, on his pleasures; and then stood up in arms against his brother for the crown of Hungary. His first insurrection ended in defeat. The Pope urged the victorious Emeric to undertake the Crusade; yet the Pope could not save Zara (Jadara), the haven of Hungary on the Adriatic, from the crusaders, diverted by Venice to the conquest. Andrew, ere long, was again in arms against his royal brother; the nobles, the whole realm were on his side; a few loyal partisans adhered to the King. Emeric advanced alone to the hos-

[q] Epist. i. On all these minor transactions, for which I have not space, Hurter is full and minute. Hurter, I think, is an honest writer; but sees all the acts of Innocent through a haze of admiration, which brightens and aggrandises them. Never was the proverb more fully verified, proselytes are always enthusiasts.

tile van; he threw off the armour, he bared his breast; "who will dare to shed the blood of their King?"[r] The army of Andrew fell back, and made way for the King, who confronted his brother. He took the rebel by the hand, led him away through his own hosts. Both armies broke out in loyal acclamations. Andrew was a prisoner, and sent to a fortress in Croatia: Emeric, before he undertook the Crusade, would have his infant son Ladislaus crowned; a few months after he was dying, and compelled to entrust his heir to the guardianship of his rebel brother. Ere long the mother and her royal son were fugitives at Vienna; but the timely death of the infant placed the crown on the head of Andrew. After some delay, Andrew atoned in the sight of the Pope for all the disobedience and ambition of his youth, by embarking at the head of a strong Hungarian army for the Holy Land. The King of Hungary could not overawe the fatal dissensions among the Christians, which thwarted every gallant enterprise. He returned after one ineffective campaign. Yet Andrew of Hungary left behind him the name of a valiant and prudent champion of the Cross. He returned to his kingdom in the year of Innocent's death.[s] The Golden Bull, the charter of the Hungarian liberties, was the free and noble gift of Andrew of Hungary.

Innocent extended his authority over Servia, and boasted of having brought Bulgaria, even Armenia (the Christian Crusader's kingdom), under the dominion of the Roman See.

[r] Compare Mailath, Geschichte der Magyaren, especially for the striking scene of Emeric in the army of his brother.—v. i. p. 141. A.D. 1203.

[s] A.D. 1216. On Andrew's crusade see Michaud and Wilken, *in loc.* Brequigny, ii. 487, 489.

CHAPTER VII.

INNOCENT AND THE EAST.

Innocent and the East.

INNOCENT III., thus assuming a supremacy even more extensive than any of his predecessors over the kingdoms of the West, was not the Pontiff to abandon the East to its fate; to leave the sepulchre of Christ in the hands of the Infidels; to permit the kingdom of Jerusalem, feeble as it was, to perish without an effort in its defence; to confess, as it were, that God was on the side of Mohammedanism, that all the former Crusades had been an idle waste of Christian blood and treasure, and that it was the policy, the ignominious policy of Christendom to content itself with maintaining, if possible, the nearer frontier, Sicily and Spain.

Failure of Crusades.

Yet the event of the Crusades might have crushed a less lofty and religious mind than that of Innocent to despair. Armies after armies had left their bones to crumble on the plains of Asia Minor or of Galilee; great sovereigns had perished, or returned discomfited from the Holy Land. Of all the conquests of Godfrey of Bouillon remained but Antioch, a few towns in Palestine, and some desert and uncultivated territory. The hopes which had been excited by the death of Saladin, and the dissensions between his sons and his brother, Melek al Adhel, had soon been extinguished. The great German Crusade, in which the Archbishops of Mentz and Bremen, the Bishops of Hälberstadt, Zeitz, Verden, Wurtzburg, Passau and Ratisbon, the Dukes of Austria, Carinthia and Brabant, Henry the Palgrave of the Rhine, Herman of Thuringia, Otho Margrave of Brandenburg, and many more of the great Teutonic nobles had joined, had ended in disgraceful failure. The death of the Emperor Henry gave them an excuse for stealing back ignominiously, single or in small bands, to Europe; they were called to take their share in the settlement of the weighty

affairs of the Empire; the Archbishop of Mentz lingered to the last, and at length, he too turned his back on the Holy Land. The French, who had remained after the departure of Philip Augustus, resented the insufferable arrogance of the Germans; the Germans affected to despise the French. But their only achievement, as Innocent himself tauntingly declared, had been the taking of undefended Berytus; while the Unbeliever boasted that he had stormed Joppa in the face of their whole host, with infinite slaughter of the Christians. All was dissension, jealousy, hostility. The King of Antioch was at war with the Christian King of Armenia. The two great Orders, the only powerful defenders of the land, the Hospitallers and the Templars, were in implacable feud. The Christians of Palestine were in morals, in character, in habits, the most licentious, most treacherous, most ferocious of mankind. Isabella, the heiress of the kingdom, had transferred the short-lived sceptre to four successive husbands. It rested now with Amalric, King of Cyprus. Worst of all, terrible rumours were abroad of suspicious compliances, secret correspondences, even secret apostasies to Mohammedanism, not only of single renegades. If those rumours had not begun to spread concerning the dark dealings of the Templars with forbidden practices and doctrines, which led during the next century to their fall, Innocent himself had to rebuke their haughty contempt of the Papal authority. In abuse of their privilege, during times of interdict whenever they entered a city they commanded the bells to ring and the divine offices to be publicly celebrated. They impressed with the sign of the cross, and affiliated for a small annual payment of two or three pence, the lowest of mankind, usurers and other criminals, to their order; and taught them that, as of their order, they had a right to be buried with the rites of the Church in consecrated earth, whether they died in excommunication or not; it was said that the guilty licentious and rapacious order wore not the secular garb for the sake of religion, but the garb of religion for the sake of the world.[a]

[a] "Dum utentes doctrinis dæmoniorum in cujusque tructanni pectore Crucifixi signaculum imprimunt . . . asserentes quod quicunque duobus vel tribus denariis annuis collatis eisdem, se in eorum fraternitatem contulerint, carere

But the darker the aspect of affairs, the more firmly throughout his Pontificate seemed Innocent to be persuaded that the Crusade was the cause of God. Among his first letters were some addressed to the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and to Conrad of Mentz with the Crusaders of Germany. In every new disaster, in every discomfiture and loss, the Popes had still found unfailing refuge in ascribing them to the sins of the Christians: and their sins were dark enough to justify the strongest language of Innocent. To the Patriarch he pledges himself to the most earnest support, exhorts him and his people to prayer, fasting, and all religious works. It needed but more perfect faith, more holiness, and one believer would put to flight twelve millions; the miracles of God against Pharaoh and against the Philistines would be renewed in their behalf. For the first two or three years of Innocent's Pontificate, address after address, rising one above another in empassioned eloquence, enforced the duty of contributing to the Holy War. In the midst of his contest with Markwald, his strife concerning the Empire, his interdict against the King of France, he forgot not this remoter object. This was to be the principal, if not the exclusive theme of the preaching of the clergy.[b] In letters to the Bishop of Syracuse, to all the Bishops of Apulia, Calabria, and Tuscany, he urges them to visit every city, town and castle; he exhorts not only the nobles, but the citizens to take up arms for Jesus Christ. Those who cannot assist in person are to assist in other ways, by furnishing ships, provisions, money. Somewhat later came a more energetic epistle to all archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, and princes and barons of France, England, Hungary, and Sicily. He spoke of the insulting language of the enemies of Christ.[c] "Where," they say, "is your God, who cannot deliver you out of our hands? Behold, we have defiled your sanctuaries. We have stretched forth our arm, we have taken at the first assault, we hold, in despite of you, those your desirable places, where your superstition had its beginning. We have weakened and broken the lances of the

Innocent urges the Crusade.

de jure nequeant ecclesiasticâ sepulturâ etiamsi interdicti." — Epist. x. 121.

[b] This letter belongs to the year 1208. Epist. i. 302.

[c] Epist. i. 336.

French, we have resisted the efforts of the English; we have repressed the strength of the Germans. Now, for a second time we have conquered the brave Spaniards. Where is your God? Let him arise and protect you and himself." The Pope bitterly alludes to the campaign of the Germans, the capture of defenceless Berytus, the loss of well-fortified Joppa. The Vicar of Christ himself would claim no exemption from the universal call; he would, as became him, set the example, and in person and in estate devote himself to the sacred cause. He had, therefore, himself invested with the cross two cardinals of the Church, who were to precede the army of the Lord, and to be maintained, not by any mendicant support, but at the expense of the Holy See. The Cardinal Peter was first to proceed to France, to settle the differences between the Kings of England and France, and to enlist them in the common cause; the Cardinal Soffrido to Venice, to awaken that powerful Republic. After the Pope's example, before the next March, every archbishop, bishop, and prelate was to furnish a certain number of soldiers, according to his means, or a certain rate in money for the support of the crusading army. Whoever refused was to be treated as a violator of God's commandments, threatened with condign punishment, even with suspension. To all who embarked in the war Innocent promised, on their sincere repentance, the remission of all their sins, and eternal life in the great day of retribution. Those who were unable to proceed in person might obtain the same remission in proportion to the bounty of their offerings and the devotion of their hearts. The estates of all who took up the cross were placed under the protection of St. Peter. Those who had sworn to pay interest for sums borrowed for these pious uses were to be released from their oaths; the Jews were especially to be compelled by all Christian princes to abandon all their usurious claims on pain of being interdicted from all commercial dealings with Christians. "If the soldiers of the Cross, so entering on their holy course, should walk in the way of the Lord, not as those before them, in revellings and drunkenness, and in licentious indulgencies in foreign lands, of which they

Contributions required.

would have been ashamed at home, they would trample their enemies down as mice under their feet."

But Christendom heard the address of the Pope with apathy approaching to indifference; so utterly might the fire seem extinct, which on former occasions ran wild through Europe, and such was the jealousy which had been raised of the rapacity of the Roman court, that sullen murmurs were heard in many parts, that all this zeal was but to raise money for other ends; that only a small part of the subsidies levied for the defence of the Holy Land would ever reach their destination. Nor was this the suspicion of the vulgar alone, it seems to have been shared by the clergy.[d] The Pope was compelled to stand on his defence; to repel the odious charge, to disclaim all intention that the money was to be sent to Rome, to appoint the bishop of each diocese with one Knight Templar, and one Knight of St. John, as the administrators of this sacred trust.[e]

More than a year elapsed; the supplications for aid from King Amalric and King Leo of Armenia, from the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem became more urgent. Innocent found it necessary to make a stronger and more specific appeal to the sluggish and unawakened clergy. On the last day of the century issued forth a new proclamation to the archbishops, bishops, and prelates of Tuscany, Lombardy, Germany, France, England, Hungary, Sclavonia, Ireland, Scotland. The Pope and his cardinals, and the clergy of Rome, had determined in this pressing exigency to devote a tenth of all their revenues to the succour of the Holy Land. All prelates and clergy in Latin Christendom were summoned to contribute at least a fortieth to this end. But they were assured that this was not intended as a permanent tax, it was a special burthen not to be drawn into precedent. How criminally hard-hearted he[f] who should refuse so small a boon in this hour of need to his Creator and

General taxation.

Dec. 31, 1199.

[d] Walter der Vogelweide, Radulf de Diceto. Compare Wilken, p. 80.

[e] "Non est ab aliquo præsumendum, ut ea, quæ a fratribus et coepiscopis nostris, et tam prælatis quam subditis ecclesiarum, in opus tam pium erogari mandavimus, propriis velimus usibus applicare, aut aliorum eleemosynas cupiditate quadam terræ sanctæ subtrahere." —Epist. i. 409.

[f] "Sciat autem se culpabiliter durum, et dure culpabilem."—Epist. ii. 270.

Redeemer! These funds were to be deposited in a safe place, the amount notified to Rome. From this enforced contribution were exempted the Cistercian and Carthusian monks, the Præmonstratensian canons, and the hermits of Grandmont. It was left to their devout hearts to fulfil their part in the common sacrifice; but it was suggested that not less than a fiftieth could be just; and there was a significant menace that they would be deprived of all their privileges, if they were slow and sparing in their offerings. In like manner all Christian people were to be called upon incessantly, at masses appointed for the purpose. In every church was to be an alms'-chest, with three keys, one held by the bishop, one by the parson of the parish, one by a chosen laic. The administration was committed to the Bishops, the Knights of the Hospital, and those of the Temple. These alms were chiefly designed to maintain poor knights who could not afford the voyage to the Holy Land; but for this they were to serve for a year or more, and obtain a certificate of such service under the hand of the King and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, of the Grand Master of the Templars and of the Hospitallers, and one of the Papal Legates. If they died or fell in battle, what remained of their maintenance was to be assigned to the support of other soldiers of the Cross.

The demands of the Pope met with no opposition, yet with but scanty compliance. At the Council of Dijon, held concerning the interdict of the King of France, by Peter, Cardinal of Capua, the clergy voted not a fortieth but a thirtieth of their revenue to this service: but the collection encountered insurmountable difficulties; and Innocent found it necessary to address a still sterner rebuke to the clergy of France. "Behold, the crucified is crucified anew! he is again smitten, again scourged; again his enemies take up their taunting reproach, 'If thou be the Son of God, save thyself; if thou canst, redeem the land of thy birth from our hands, restore thy cross to the worshippers of the cross.' But ye, I say it with grief, though I ask you again and again, will not give me one cup of cold water. The laity, whom you urge to assume the cross by your words, not by your acts, take up

against you the words of Scripture, 'They bind heavy burthens upon us, but themselves will not move them with one of their fingers. Ye are reproached as bestowing more of God's patrimony on actors than on Christ; as spending more on hawks and hounds than in His aid, lavish to all others, to Him alone sparing, even parsimonious."[g]

But Richard and Philip of France suspended not their animosities; and hardly was Richard dead when the interdict fell upon France. Germany was distracted with the claims of the rival Emperors. It needed more than the remote admonitions of the Holy See to rekindle the exhausted and desponding fanaticism of Christendom. Without a Peter the Hermit, or a St. Bernard, Urban II. and Eugenius III. would not have precipitated Europe upon Asia. The successor of these powerful preachers, it was hoped, had appeared in Fulk of Neuilly.[h] Already had Fulk of Neuilly displayed those powers of devout eloquence, which work on the contagious religious passions of multitudes. The clergy of Paris and its neighbourhood were not famous for their self-denial, and Fulk of Neuilly had been no exception to the common dissoluteness. He had been seized, however, with a paroxysm of profound compunction; he was suddenly a model of the severest austerity and devout holiness. He became ashamed of his ignorance, especially of the Holy Scriptures; he, a teacher of the people, wanted the first elements of instruction. He began to attend the lectures of the learned men in Paris, especially of the celebrated Peter the Chanter. With style and tablet he noted down all the vivid and emphatic sentences which he heard; he taught to his parishioners on Sunday what he had learned during the week. He wrought unexpected wonders on the minds of his simple hearers: his fame spread; he was invited to preach in neighbouring churches; he himself was hardly aware of his powers, till on a memorable sermon preached in the open street, that of Chaupel, in Paris, to a crowd of clergy and laity,

Fulk of Neuilly.

[g] Gesta, c. 84.

[h] Ranulf de Coggeshalle and James de Vitry are most full on Fulk of Neuilly; the other authorities, in Michaud, Wilken, and Hurter.

his hearers suddenly began to tear off their clothes, to throw away their shoes, to cast themselves at his feet, imploring him to give them rods or scourges to inflict instant penance on themselves. They promised to yield themselves up to his direction. Everywhere it was the same; usurers laid down their ill-gotten gains at his feet; prostitutes forswore their sins and embraced a holy life. But, it should seem, that the first passion for his preaching died away; the public mind had become more languid, and Fulk of Neuilly retired to the diligent and faithful care of his own flock at Neuilly.

Just at this time died his teacher, Peter the Chanter. On that eloquent man Innocent had relied for the effective preaching of the Crusade in France; with his dying lips Peter bequeathed his mission to Fulk of Neuilly. With this new impulse the fervid preaching of Fulk kindled to all its former energy and power. He now, in his zeal for the cross, assailed higher vices—the somnolence of the prelates, the unchastity of the clergy; he denounced the popular heresies; many were converted from their errors; over a softer class of sinners he again obtained such influence, that from the gifts which flowed in to him on all sides, he gave some marriage portions, for others he founded the convent of St. Anthony in Paris as a refuge from the world. His reputation reached Rome. Soon after his accession, Innocent wrote a letter highly approving the holy zeal of Fulk, urged him to devote all his exertions to the sacred cause, to choose some both of the Black and White Monks, with the sanction of the Legate Peter of Capua, as his assistants, and thus to sow the good seed through the breadth of the land.[1]

Again Fulk of Neuilly set out from place to place; he was everywhere hailed as the worthy successor of Peter the Hermit. The wonders which he wrought in the minds and hearts of men were believed to be accompanied by miraculous powers of healing and of blessing. But in the display of his miraculous powers, the preacher showed prudence and sagacity. Some he healed instantaneously; to others he declared that their cure would be prejudicial to

[1] Epist. i. 398. Villehardouin.

their salvation, and, therefore, displeasing to God; others must wait the fitting time, they had not yet suffered long enough the chastening discipline of the Lord. He blessed many wells, over which chapels were built and long hallowed by popular veneration. Before the close of the year, full of fame as the preacher of the cross, Fulk of Neuilly attended the great meeting of the Cistercian Order, and himself took the cross with the Bishop of Langres. Yet the Order declined to delegate any of their body as attendants of the preacher. They gave him, however, a multitude of crosses to distribute, which were almost snatched from his hands by the eager zeal of his followers, as he left the church. The news spread that, like Peter the Hermit, he was about himself to head a crusade; thousands flocked around him; but he would only receive the poor as his followers; he declined the association of the rich.

He pursued his triumphant career with the full sanction of his Bishop, through Normandy and Brittany, Burgundy and Flanders, everywhere preaching the crusade, everywhere denouncing the vices of the age, avarice, usury, rapacity. Nobles, knights, citizens, serfs, crowded around him; they took the cross from his hands, they gazed in astonishment at his miracles; their zeal at times rose to an importunate height; they tore his clothes from him to keep the shreds as hallowed reliques. Fulk seems to have been somewhat passionate, and not without humour. Once, a strong and turbulent fellow being more than usually troublesome, he shouted aloud that he had not blessed his own garments, but would bless those of this man. In an instant the zeal of the multitude was diverted; they fell upon the man and tore his whole dress in tatters, and carried off the precious shreds. Sometimes he would keep order by laying about him vigorously with his staff; those were happy who were wounded by his hallowed hands; they kissed their bruises, and cherished every drop of blood shed by his holy violence. At the close of three years Fulk of Neuilly could boast, in another assembly of the Cistercian order, that 200,000 persons had received the cross from his hands.

Yet, as before, the eloquence of Fulk of Neuilly wanted depth and intensity; its effects were immediate and violent, but not lasting. It might be, that he either disdained or neglected those ostentatious austerities, which to the vulgar are the crowning test of earnestness. He wore, indeed, a sackcloth shirt next his skin, and kept rigidly the fasts of the Church; but on other occasions he ate and drank, and lived like other men. He was decently shaved, wore seemly attire, he did not travel barefoot, but on an easy palfrey. It might be that his reserve in working miracles awoke suspicion in some, resentment in others, who were disappointed in their petitions. But the deep and real cause of his transitory success, was the general jealousy which was abroad concerning the misapplication of the vast funds raised for the service of the Holy Land. Offerings had streamed to him from all quarters; he had received vast subsidies: these he devoted to supply the more needy knights, who took the cross with arms and provisions for their pilgrimage. But the rapacity of Rome and of the clergy had settled a profound mistrust throughout mankind: like Innocent, Fulk was accused of diverting these holy alms to other uses.[k] From the time that he began to receive these lavish offerings, the spell of his power was broken; as wealth flowed in, awe and respect fell off. He did not live to witness the crusade of which, even if his motives were thus with some clouded by suspicion, he had been the great preacher; he died of a fever at Neuilly in the year 1202. The large sums which he had deposited in the abbey of the Cistercians were faithfully applied to the restoration of the walls of Tyre, Acre, and Berytus, which had been shaken by an earthquake; and to the maintenance of poor knights in the Holy Land. The death of Fulk is attributed by one writer to grief at the

[k] "Ipse (Falco) ex fidelium elecmosynis maximam cœpit congregare pecuniam quam pauperibus crucesignatis, tam militibus quam aliis proposuerat erogare. Licet autem causâ cupiditatis vel aliquâ sinistra intentione collectas istas non faceret, occulto Dei judicio, ex tunc ejus auctoritas et prædicatio cœpit valde diminui apud homines, et, crescente pecuniâ, timor et reverentia decrescebat."—Jac. de Vitriac. "Tandem (Fulco) sub obtentu Terræ Sanctæ, prædicationi quæstuosæ insistens, quod nimium pecuniam aggregavit, quasi ad succursum terræ Hierosolymitanæ, et quod erat ultra modum iracundus."—Anonym. Chron. of Laon, in Bouquet, viii. p. 711.

mal-appropriation of a large sum deposited in another quarter.[m] Nor was Fulk's example without followers. Preachers of the Cross rose up in every part of England and France; the most effective of whom was the Abbot Martin, the head of a Cistercian convent, that of Paris, in Alsace, who himself bore a distinguished part in the Crusade which never reached the Holy Land.

Crusade of Cery.

The admonitions and exhortations of the Pope, the preachings of Fulk of Neuilly, of the Abbot Martin, and their followers, had at length stirred some of the young hearts among the secondary Princes of France. At a tournament at Cery in Champagne, Thiebault the Count of Champagne and Brie, at the age of twenty-one, and Louis Count of Blois and Chartres, at the age of twenty-seven, in an access of religious valour, assumed the Cross: the bishops and the nobles of the land caught the contagious enthusiasm. At Cery, Rainald de Montmirail and Simon de Montfort, Garnier Bishop of Troyes, Walther of Brienne, and the Marshal of Champagne Geoffroy of Villehardouin, the great names of Dampierre, of de Castel and Rochfort were enrolled in the territory of Blois; in the royal domains, the Bishop of Soissons, two Montmorencies, a de Courcy, a Malvoisin, and a Dreux.

The following year (1200) Baldwin Count of Flanders, with his wife Maria, sister of Count Thiebault of Champagne, his nephew Dietrich, Jacob of Avenes, William and Conon of Bethune, Hugh of St. Pol, and his brother Peter of Anvers, the Count of Perche and his brother, swore the solemn oath for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre. The Crusade was determined, but it was now become matter of deep deliberation as to the safest and most advantageous way of reaching the shores of Palestine. The perils and difficulties of the land journey, the treachery of the Greeks, the long march through Asia Minor, had been too often and too fatally tried: but how was this gallant band of Frenchmen to provide means for maritime transport?

Religion by her invasion of the East had raised a rival, which began as ancillary, and gradually grew up to be

[m] Hugo Plagon, cited by Wilken, v. p. 105.

the mistress of the human mind—commercial enterprise. Venice was rising towards the zenith of her greatness, if with some of the danger and the glory of the Crusades, with a far larger share of the wealth, the arts, the splendour of the East. The sagacious mind of Innocent might seem to have foreseen the growing peril to the purely religious character of the Crusades; but he miscalculated his power in supposing that a papal edict could arrest the awakened passion for the commodities of the East, and the riches which accrued to those who were their chief factors and distributors to Europe. There was already a canon of the Lateran Council under Alexander III. prohibiting, under pain of excommunication, all trade with the Saracens in instruments of war, arms, iron, or timber for galleys. Innocent determined to prohibit all commerce whatever with the Mohammedans during the war in the East. The republic, according to her usual prudence, sought not by force and open resistance what she might better gain by policy; she sent two of her noble citizens, Andrea Donato and Benedetto Grillon, to Rome to represent with due humility, that the republic of Venice, having no agriculture, depended entirely on her commerce; and that such restriction would be her ruin. Innocent brought back the edict to its former limits. He positively prohibited the supply of iron, tow, pitch, sharp stakes, cables, arms, gallies, ships, and ship-timber, either hewn or unhewn. He left the rest of their dealings with the kingdom of Egypt and of Babylon till further orders entirely free, expressing his hope that the republic would show her gratitude by assisting to the utmost the Christians in the East.[n] Venice.

Venice alone could furnish a fleet to transport a powerful army. After long debate the three Counts of Flanders, of Champagne, and of Blois agreed to despatch each two ambassadors to Venice to frame a treaty for the conveyance of their forces. The ambassadors of the Count of Flanders were Conon de Bethune and Alard Maquerau; those of the Count of Blois, John of Friaise and Walter of Gandonville, those of the Count of Cham-

[n] Epist. i. 539.

pagne Miles of Brabant and Geoffroy of Villehardouin, the historian of the Crusade.[o] The envoys arrived in Venice in the first week of Lent; they were received with great courtesy by the Doge, the aged Henry Dandolo; they were lodged in a splendid palace, as became the messengers of such great princes; after four days they were summoned to a public audience before the Doge and his council. "Sire," they said, "we are come in the name of the great barons of France, who have taken the cross, to avenge the insults against our Lord Jesus Christ, and by God's will to conquer Jerusalem. As no power on earth can aid us as you can, they implore you, in God's name, to have compassion on the Holy Land, to avenge with them the contumely on Jesus Christ, by furnishing them with ships and other conveniences to pass the sea." "On what terms?" inquired the Doge. "On any terms you may please to name, provided we can bear them." "It is a grave matter," answered the Doge; "and an enterprise of vast moment. In eight days ye shall have your answer." At the end of eight days the Doge made known the terms of the republic. They would furnish palanders and flat vessels to transport 4500 horses and 9000 squires, and ships for 4500 knights and 20,000 infantry, and provision the fleet for nine months. They were to receive four marks of silver for each horse, for each man two; the total 85,000 marks.[p] They promised to man 50 galleys of their own to join the expedition. The bargain was ratified in a great public assembly of ten thousand of the Venetian citizens before the church of St. Mark. The ambassadors threw themselves on the pavement and wept. The grave Venetians expressed their emotions by loud acclamations. Mass was celebrated with great solemnity; the next day the agreements were reduced to writing, and signed by the covenanting parties. The ambassadors returned; at Piacenza they separated, four to visit Pisa and Genoa and implore further aid; they were coldly

A.D. 1201.

Treaty with Villehardouin.

[o] Villehardouin, i. 11.

[p] "Représentant environ quatre millions et demi de la monnaie actuelle." —Daru. i. 267. "Le septier de bled valait de cinq à six sols, le marc d'argent cinquante et quelques sols."—Sismondi reckons 4½ millions.

received by those jealous republics; Villehardouin and Maquerau returned to France. Villehardouin found his young master the Count of Champagne at Troyes, dangerously ill; the youth, in his joy at beholding his faithful servant, mounted his horse for the last time; he died in a few days. Thiebault was to have been at the head of the Crusade. The command was offered to the Duke of Burgundy, to the Count of Bar le Duc; the proudest nobles declined the honour; it was accepted by the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat. The armament suffered another heavy loss by the death of the Count of Perche.

Between Easter and Whitsuntide in the following year (1202). the Crusaders were in movement in all parts. But Venice was thought by some to have driven a hard bargain; among others there was some mistrust of the republic. Innocent had given but a reluctant assent to the treaty of Villehardouin. Baldwin himself and his brother kept their engagement with Venice. The Count of Flanders manned his own fleet, himself embarked his best troops, which set sail for Palestine round by the Straits of Gibraltar. Some went to Marseilles. Multitudes passed onwards on the chance of easier freight to the south of Italy. The French and Burgundians arrived but slowly, and in small divisions, at Venice; they were lodged apart in the island of St. Nicolas; among these was Baldwin of Flanders. The Count of Blois was at Pavia, on his way to the south of Italy, where he was stopped by Villehardouin, and persuaded to march to Venice. The Republic kept her word with commercial punctuality; never had been beheld a nobler fleet; her ships were in the highest order, amply sufficient for the whole force which they had stipulated to convey. They demanded the full amount of the covenanted payment, the 85,000 marks, and declared themselves ready at once to set sail. The Crusaders were in the utmost embarrassment, they bitterly complained of those who had deserted them to embark at other ports.[q] There were multitudes of poor knights who could not pay, others who

Crusaders assemble.

[q] "Ha! cum grant domages fu quant li autre qui allèrent as autres pors, ne vindrent illuec."—Villehardouin, c. 29.

had paid, sullenly demanded, in hopes of breaking up the expedition, that they should at once be embarked and conveyed to their place of destination. The Count of Flanders, the Count Louis of Blois, the Count of St. Pol, and the Marquis of Montferrat contributed all their splendid plate, and stretched their credit to the utmost, there were yet 34,000 marks wanting to make up the inexorable demand.

Venetians propose conquest of Zara.

The wise old Doge saw his advantage; his religion was the greatness of his country. It is impossible not to remember in the course of events, by which the Crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land became a crusade for the conquest of the Eastern Empire, that Henry Dandolo had been, if not entirely, nearly blinded by the cruelty of the Byzantine court. His sagacity could scarcely foresee the fortuitous circumstances which led at length to that unexpected victory of the West over the East, but he had the quick-sightedness of ambition and revenge to profit by those circumstances as they arose. He proposed to his fellow citizens, with their full approval he explained to the Crusaders, that Venice would fulfil her part of the treaty, if in discharge of the 34,000 marks of silver they would lend their aid in the conquest of Zara,[r] (which had been wrested from them unjustly, as they said, by the King of Hungary.) The gallant chivalry of France stood aghast; that knights sworn to war for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre should employ their arms against a Christian city, the city of a Christian King under the special protection of the Pope! that the free armies of the cross should be the hirelings of the Venetian republic! But the year was wearing away; the hard necessity bowed them to submission. The Doge pursued his plan with consummate address. As though he too shared in the religious enthusiasm which was to be gratified in all its fulness after the capture of Zara, on the great festival of the Nativity of the Virgin, Dandolo ascended the pulpit in the church of St. Mark. In a powerful speech he extolled the religious zeal of the pilgrims: "Old and feeble as I am, what can I do better than join these noble cavaliers in their holy enter-

Sept. 2.

[r] Called also Jadara.

prise? Let my son Rainer take the rule in Venice; I will live or die with the pilgrims of the Cross." But there was a careful stipulation behind that Venice was to share equally in all the conquests of the Crusaders. The Doge advanced to the altar, and fixed the cross in his high cotton cap; the people and the pilgrims melted into tears.

No sooner was this over than a new and unexpected event excited the utmost amazement among the French pilgrims: the appearance of messengers from the young Prince Alexius Comnenus, entreating the aid of the Crusaders to replace his father on his rightful throne of Constantinople. After the overthrow of the first noble line of Comnenus, the history of Byzantium had for some years been one bloody revolution; a short reign ended in blinding or death was the fate of each successive Emperor. Isaac Angelus, hurried from the sanctuary in which he had taken refuge to be placed on the throne, had reigned for nearly ten years, when he was supplanted by the subtle treason of his brother Alexius. Isaac was blinded, his young son Alexius imprisoned. But mercy is a proscribed indulgence to an usurper; a throne obtained by cruelty can only be maintained by cruelty. Alexius abandoned himself to pleasure; in his Mohammedan harem he neglected the affairs of state, he increased the burthens of the people, he even relaxed his jealousy of his brother and nephew. The blind Isaac, in a pleasant villa on the Bosphorus, could communicate with his old partisans and the discontented of all classes. The son was allowed such freedom as enabled him to make his escape in a Pisan vessel, under the disguise of a sailor, and to reach Ancona. From Ancona he hastened to Rome; the son of a blinded father, to seek sympathy; a prince expelled from his throne by an usurper, to seek justice; an exile, to seek generous compassion from the Vicar of Christ. He was coldly received. Innocent had already been tempted by some advances—religious advances—on the part of the usurper: he would not risk the chance of subjugating the Eastern Church to the See of Rome through the means of the sovereign in actual possession. The sister of young

Arrival of Alexius Comnenus in Venice.

A.D 1185 to 1195.

Alexius was the wife of Philip of Swabia; perhaps this alliance with his enemy operated on the policy of Innocent. Alexius proceeded to the court of Philip; he was received with generous courtesy; at Verona he was introduced to a great body of Crusaders, and implored their aid in the name of Philip. His messengers were now in Venice appealing to the chivalry, to the justice, the humanity, the compassion of the gallant knights of France, and the lofty senators of the republic. Did this new opening for the extension of the power and influence of Venice, or for revenge against the perfidious Greeks of Constantinople, expand at once before Dandolo into anticipations of that close which made this crusade the most eventful, the most important to Christendom, to civilisation, even perhaps beyond the first conquest of Jerusalem and the establishment of the Christian kingdom in the Holy Land? The Doge and the Pilgrims listened with undisguised sympathy to the appeal of young Alexius; but as yet with nothing beyond earnest expressions of interest in his cause. Both parties were fully occupied, one in urging, the other in sullenly preparing themselves for the expedition against Zara. A large body of Germans had now arrived, under Conrad Bishop of Halberstadt, Count Berthold of Katzenellenbogen, and other chiefs. The Abbot Martin had crossed the Tyrolese Alps with a vast band of followers of the lower orders. Martin himself lived with the austerity of a monk in the camp: all the splendid offerings lavished upon him by the way were spent on his soldiery. In each of two days it is said he expended a hundred marks of silver, seventy on the third. He was entertained for eight days in the palace of the Bishop of Verona, and at length arrived with all his host at Venice. The indignation of the Germans, and of the followers of Abbot Martin, was vehement when they were told of the meditated attack on Zara. They had heard that Egypt was wasted with famine, by the failure of the inundation of the Nile; that the Paynims of Syria were in profound distress from earthquakes and bad harvests; they remonstrated against this invasion of the lands of their ally the King of Hungary, who had himself taken up the Cross. The Venetians held

the Crusaders to their bond: Zara or the rest of the marks of silver was their inflexible demand. The Germans, as the French, were compelled to yield. The Pope himself had no influence on the grasping ambition of the republic.

And this was Pope Innocent's Crusade, the Crusade to which he looked as the great act of his Pontificate! Now when it was assembled in its promising overpowering strength it had been seized and diverted to the aggrandisement of Venice. He sent his Legate Peter of Capua, with the strongest remonstrances, to interdict even the Venetians from the war against Christian Zara, and to lead the other Pilgrims directly to the Holy Land. The Venetians almost contemptuously informed the Cardinal that he might embark on board their fleet as the preacher and spiritual director of the Crusaders, but on no account must he presume to exercise his legatine power; if he refused these terms he might return from whence he came. The Abbot Martin entreated the Cardinal to release him from his vow; as he could not at once proceed against the Saracens, he would retire to his peaceful cloister. The Cardinal Peter entreated him to remain, if possible, with the other ecclesiastics, to prevent the shedding of Christian blood. For himself he shook the dust from his feet, and left the contumacious city. Letters from Innocent, menaces of excommunication were treated with as slight respect; only some few of the French, some of the Germans, withdrew; the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat alleged important affairs, and declined as yet to take the command of the Crusade.

The Pope interferes in vain.

Never did Crusade set forth under more imposing auspices. No doubt the martial spirit of all ranks could not resist the spreading enthusiasm, when four hundred and eighty noble ships, admirably appointed, with banners and towers, blazing with the arms and shields of the chivalry of Europe, expanded their full sails to the autumnal wind, and moved in stately order down the Adriatic. It seemed as if they might conquer the whole world.[8] On the eve of St. Martin's day they were off

Oct. 8, 1202. Crusade sets forth.

[8] "Et bien semblait estone qui terre deust conquerre."—Villehardouin.

Zara; the haven was forced; they were under the walls of the city; they landed; the knights disembarked their horses. The sight of this majestic fleet appalled the inhabitants of Zara; they sent a deputation to surrender the city on the best terms they could obtain. The Doge, with mistimed courtesy, replied, "that he must consult the counts and barons of the army." The Counts and Barons assembled round the Doge advised the acceptance of the capitulation. But without the tent where they sate was Simon de Montfort, with others whose object it was to break up the misguided army.[t] De Montfort taunted the Zarans with their dastardly surrender of so strong a city:—"We are Christians, we war not against our brother Christians." Simon de Montfort then retired, and from that time stood aloof from the siege. When the Doge demanded the presence of the ambassadors that they might ratify the treaty they had disappeared; the city walls were manned for obstinate defence. At the same time rose Guido the Abbot of Vaux Cernay: "In the name of the Pope I prohibit the assault on his Christian cities: ye are Pilgrims and have taken the cross for other ends." The Doge was furious; he reproached the Crusaders with having wrested from him a city already in his power; he summoned them to fulfil the treaty to which they had sworn. The greater part either could not or would not resist the appeal. The siege began again, and lasted for five days. On the sixth Zara opened her gates. The Doge took possession of the city in the name of his republic; but divided the rich spoil equally with the Crusaders.

Zara taken.

Zara was taken, but that was not enough; the presence of the crusading army was necessary to maintain the city against any sudden attack of the King of Hungary and to strengthen and secure the Dalmatian possessions of Venice. The Doge represented to the Barons that the bad season was now drawing on: Zara offered safe and pleasant winter quarters, with abundance of provisions. Throughout Greece and the East there was scarcity: [u] they

[t] So says Villehardouin; perhaps he foresaw the yet undeveloped character of De Montfort.

[u] Villehardouin, 43.

could obtain no supplies in the course of their voyage. The Barons yielded, as they could not but yield to those arguments. The city was divided: the Venetians occupied the part nearest the port and their ships; the French the rest. But among the pilgrims there were many, who felt bitterly that they were only slaves in the hands of the Venetians; their religious feelings revolted against the occupation of the Christian city; they called it "the city of transgression." Three nights after broke out a fierce and sanguinary quarrel between the Franks and Venetians, which was with great difficulty allayed by the more sage and influential of each host. Fourteen days after this arrived the Marquis of Montferrat, the Commander-in-chief of the Crusade: though he and many of the French knights had designedly remained in Italy till the conquest of Zara; now that this conquest was achieved they joined the army of the pilgrims. Two weeks later came those who had accompanied Alexius to the court of Philip of Swabia, with ambassadors from King Philip. They appeared before an assembly held in the palace occupied by the Doge of Venice. "We are here on the part of King Philip and the Prince of Constantinople his brother-in-law, before the Doge of Venice and the Barons of this host. King Philip will entrust his brother-in-law in the hand of God, and in yours. You are armed for God, for the right, for justice, it becomes you, therefore, to restore the disinherited to his rightful throne. Nor will it be less to your advantage than to your honour; for your advantage in your great design, the conquest of the Holy Land. As soon as you restore Alexius to his throne, he will first submit the Empire of the Romans to obedience to Rome, from which it has been separated so long. In the next place, as he knows that you are exhausted by the vast cost of this armament, he will give you two hundred thousand marks of silver, and supply the whole army with provisions. He will either join the armament against Egypt in person, or send ten thousand men, to be maintained for a year at his charge. During his lifetime he will maintain five hundred knights for the defence of the Holy Land."

Winter quarters.

Ambassadors from King Philip.

No sooner had the Barons met the next day to discuss

this high matter, than Guido, the Cistercian Abbot of Vaux Cernay, rose and declared emphatically that they came not to wage war on Christians; to Syria they would go, and only to Syria. He was supported by the faction desirous of dissolving the armament. It was replied that they could now do nothing in Syria; that the only way to subjugate permanently the Holy Land was by Egypt or by Greece. Even the clergy were divided: the Cistercian Abbot of Loces, a man of high esteem for his profound piety, took the other side. Words ran high even among those holy persons.

Treaty with Alexius.

The treaty was accepted (they could not without shame refuse it) by the Marquis of Montferrat, the Count of Flanders and Hennegau, the Count of Blois, the Count of St. Pol; yet but eight knights more dared to set their hands to this doubtful covenant. But all the winter there were constant defections in the army; some set out by land, and were massacred by the barbarous Sclavonians; some embarked for Syria in merchant vessels; at a later period Simon de Montfort quitted the camp with many noble followers, and joined the King of Hungary. "If God," says Villehardouin, "had not loved the army, it would have melted away through the contending factions." It was the Papal ban, either actually in force, or impending in all its awful menace over the pilgrim army, which was alleged as the summons to all holy men to abandon the unhallowed expedition. The bishops in the army had taken upon themselves to suspend this anathema. The Barons determined to send a mission to Rome to deprecate the wrath of the Pope. The Bishop of Soissons, John of Noyon the Chancellor of the Count of Flanders, ecclesiastics of fame for learning and holiness, with the knights John of Friaise and Robert de Boves, were, not without mistrust, sworn solemnly on the most holy reliques, to return to the army. The oath was broken by Robert of Boves, whom the army held as a perjured knight. Their mission was to explain to the Pope that they had been compelled, through the treacherous abandonment of the enterprise by those crusaders who had embarked in other ports, to obey the bidding of Venice, and to lend themselves to the siege

of Zara. Innocent admitted their plea—it was his only course. He gave permission to the Bishop of Soissons and John of Noyon provisionally to suspend the interdict till the arrival of his legate, Peter of Capua; but the Barons were bound under a solemn pledge to give full satisfaction to the Pope for their crime. But notwithstanding the bold remonstrance of John of Noyon (Innocent commanded him to be silent), they were compelled to bear a brief letter of excommunication against the Venetians. Boniface had the prudence to prevent the immediate publication of that ban. He sent to Rome their act of submission, couched in the terms dictated by the Cardinal Peter; and intimated that the Venetians were about to send their own messengers to entreat the forgiveness of the Pope for the conquest of Zara. But the Venetians made no sign of submission. Positive orders were given to deliver the brief of excommunication into the hands of the Doge. If the Doge received it, he received it with utter indifference; and two singular letters of Innocent prescribe the course to be followed by the absolved Crusaders, thus of necessity, on board the fleet of Venice, in perpetual intercourse with the profane and excommunicated Venetians. They might communicate with them as far as necessity compelled so long as they were on board their ships; no sooner had they reached the Holy Land, than they were to sever the ungodly alliance; they were on no account to go forth to war with them against the Saracens, lest they should incur the shameful disaster of those in the Old Testament, who went up in company with Achan and other sinners against the Philistines.[x]

Innocent condemns the expedition to Constantinople.

The mission of the Crusaders had been entirely silent as to the new engagement to place the young Alexius on the throne of Constantinople. Innocent either knew not or would not know this new delinquency. He received the first authentic intelligence from the legate Peter of Capua. The Pope's letters denounced the whole design in the most lofty admonitory terms. "However guilty the Emperor of Constantinople and his subjects of blinding his brother and of usurping the throne,

[x] Epist. vi. 99, 100.

it is not for you to invade the Empire, which is under the especial protection of the Holy See. Ye took not the Cross to avenge the wrongs of the Prince Alexius; ye are under the solemn obligation to avenge the Crucified, to whose service ye are sworn." He intimated that he had written to the Emperor of Constantinople to supply them with provisions. The Emperor had faithfully promised to do so. Only in the case that supplies were refused them, then, as soldiers of Him to whom the earth and all its produce belonged, they might take it by force; but still in the fear of God, faithfully paying or promising to pay for the same, and without injury to person.

Fleet off Constantinople.

But already the fleet was in full sail for Corfu, the Prince Alexius on board. Of the excommunication against the Venetians no one took the slightest heed, least of all the Venetians themselves. Simon de Montfort alone, who had stood aloof from the siege of Zara, on the day of embarkation finally separated himself from the camp of the ungodly, who refused obedience to the Pope. With his brother and some few French knights he passed over to the King of Hungary, and after many difficulties reached the Holy Land. In truth, the Crusaders had no great faith in the sincerity of the Pope's condemnation of the enterprise against Constantinople. The subjugation of the heretical, if not rival Church of Byzantium, to the Church of St. Peter, had been too long the great aim of Papal ambition for them to suppose that even by more violent or less justifiable means than the replacing the legitimate Emperor on the throne, and the degradation of an usurper, it would not soon reconcile itself to the Papal sense of right and justice. Some decent regard to his acknowledgment of, to his amicable intercourse with the usurper, might be becoming; even as a step to the conquest of the Holy Land, it might well be considered the most prudent policy. In a short time the submission of the Greek Church, the departure of the Crusaders under better auspices to the Holy Land (for as yet even the ambitious Venetians could hardly apprehend the absolute conquest of Constantinople, and the establishment of a Latin Empire), would allay the seeming resent-

ment of Innocent. In the mean time, no doubt many hearts were kindled with the romance of this new adventure and the desire to behold this second Rome; vague expectations were entertained of rich plunder, or at least of splendid reward for their services by the grateful Alexius; it is even said that many were full of strange hopes of more precious spoils, the pillage of the precious reliques which were accumulated in the churches of Constantinople, and of which the heretical Greeks ought to be righteously robbed for the benefit of the more orthodox believers of the West.

Taking of Constantinople.

The taking of Constantinople and the foundation of the Latin Empire concern Christian history in their results more than in their actual achievement. The arrival of the fleet before Constantinople; the ill-organised defence and pusillanimous flight of the usurper Alexius; the restoration of the blind Isaac Angelus and his son; the discontent of the Greeks at the subservience of the young Alexius to the Latins; his dethronement, and the elevation of Alexius Ducas (Mourzouflc) to the throne; the siege; the murder of the young Alexius; the flight of Mourzoufle, and the storming of the city by the Crusaders, were crowded into less than one eventful year.[y] A Count of Flanders sat on the throne of the Eastern Cæsars.

Partition of the conquest.

Europe, it might have been expected, by the Latin conquest of Constantinople and of great part of the Byzantine Empire, would have become one great Christian league or political system; European Christendom one Church, under the acknowledged supremacy of the Pope. But the Latin Empire was not that of a Western sovereign ascending the Byzantine throne, and ruling over the Greek population, undisturbed in their possessions, and according to the laws of Justinian and the later Emperors of the East. His followers did not gradually mingle by intermarriages with the Greeks, and so infuse, as in other parts of Europe, new strength and energy into that unwarlike and effete race. The Emperor was a sovereign elected by the Venetians and the Franks,

[y] The fleet reached Constantinople 1203. The storm took place April 13, the eve of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1204.

governing entirely by the right of conquest. It was a foreign settlement, a foreign lord, a foreign feudal system, which never mingled in the least with the Greeks; the Latins kept entirely to themselves all honours, all dignities, (no Greek was admitted to office,) even all the lands; the whole country, as it was conquered, was portioned out, as Constantinople had been, into great fiefs between the Venetians and Franks. This western feudal system so established throughout the land implied the absolute, the supreme ownership of the soil by the conquerors. The condition of the Greeks under the new rule depended on the character of their new masters. In Constantinople the high-born and the wealthy had gladly accepted the permission to escape with their lives; the Crusaders had taken possession of such at least of their gorgeous palaces and splendid establishments as had escaped the three fires which during the successive sieges had destroyed so large a part of the city.[z] When the Marquis of Montferrat took possession of Thessalonica he turned the inhabitants out of all the best houses, and bestowed them on his followers: in other places they were oppressed with a kind of indifferent lenity. But they were, in truth, held as a race of serfs, over whom the Latins exercised lordship by the right of conquest; they were left, indeed, to be governed, as had been the case with the subject Roman population in all the German conquests, by their own laws and their own magistrates. The constitution of the Latin Empire was the same with that of the kingdom of Jerusalem, founded in the midst of a population chiefly Mohammedan; their code of law was the Assises of Jerusalem. No Greek was admitted to any post of honour or dignity till after the defeat and capture of the Emperor Baldwin. Then his successor, the Emperor Henry, found it expedient to make some advances towards conciliation; he endeavoured to propitiate by honourable appointments some of the leading Greeks. But to this he was compelled by necessity. The original Crusaders

[z] In the conflagration on the night of the capture, caused by some Flemings, who thought by setting fire to the houses to keep off the attack of the Greeks, as many houses were destroyed, according to Villehardouin, as would be found in three of the largest cities in France.

gradually died off, or were occupied in maintaining their own conquests in Hellas or in the Morea; only few adventurers, notwithstanding the temptations and promises held out by the Latin Emperors, arrived from the West. The Emperor in Constantinople became a sovereign of Greeks. It is surprising that the Latin Empire endured for half a century: had there been any Greeks of resolution or enterprise Constantinople at least might have been much sooner wrested from their hands.

Establishment of Latin Christianity.

The establishment of Latin Christianity in the East was no less a foreign conquest. It was not the conversion of the Greek Church to the creed, the usages, the ritual, the Papal supremacy of the West; it was the foundation, the super-induction of a new Church, alien in language, in rites, in its clergy, which violently dispossessed the Greeks of their churches and monasteries, and appropriated them to its own uses. It was part of the original compact between the Venetians and the Franks, before the final attack on the city, that the churches of Constantinople should be equally divided between the two nations: the ecclesiastical property throughout the realm was to be divided, after providing for the maintenance of public worship, according to the Latin form, by a Latin clergy, exactly on the same terms as the rest of the conquered territory. The French prelates might, indeed, claim equal rights, as having displayed at least equal valour and confronted the same dangers with the boldest of the barons. The vessels which bore the bishops of Soissons and Troyes, the Paradise and the Pilgrim, were the first which grappled with the towers of Constantinople, from which were thrown the scaling ladders on which the conquerors mounted to the storm; the episcopal banners were the first that floated in triumph on the battlements of Constantinople.[a]

Like the Emperor Alexius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, John Camaterus, had fled, but it was at a time and under circumstances far less ignominious. The clergy had not been less active in the defence of the city, than the Frankish bishops in the assault. After the flight

[a] See the despatch to Pope Innocent announcing the taking of Constantinople.

of Mourzoufle they had chiefly influenced the choice of Theodore Lascaris as Emperor; the Patriarch had presented him to the people, and with him vainly endeavoured to rouse their panic-stricken courage. It was not till the city was in the hands of the enemy that the Patriarch abandoned his post. He was met in that disastrous plight described by Nicetas, riding on an ass, reduced to the primitive Apostolic poverty, without scrip, without purse, without staff, without shoes. It was time, indeed, to fly from horrors and unhallowed crimes which he could not avert. The Crusaders had advanced to the siege of Constantinople in the name of Christ; they had issued strong orders to respect the churches, the monasteries, the persons of the clergy, the chastity of the nuns. The three Latin bishops had published a terrible excommunication against all who should commit such sacrilegious acts of violence. But of what effect were orders, what awe had excommunications for a fierce soldiery, flushed with unexpected victory, let loose on the wealthiest, most luxurious, most dissolute capital of the world, among a people of a different language, whom they had been taught to despise as the most perfidious of mankind, the base enemies of all the former armies of the Cross, tainted with obstinate heresy? Nicetas, himself an eye-witness and sufferer in these terrible scenes, may be suspected of exaggeration, when he contrasts the discipline and self-denial of the Mohammedans, who under Saladin stormed Jerusalem, with the rapacity, the lust, the cruelty of the Christian conquerors of Constantinople. But the reports which had reached Pope Innocent would hardly darken the truth. "How," he writes, "shall the Greek Church return to ecclesiastical unity and to respect for the Apostolic See, when they have beheld in the Latins only examples of wickedness and works of darkness, for which they might well abhor them worse than dogs? Those who were believed to seek not their own but the things of Christ Jesus, steeping those swords, which they ought to have wielded against the Pagans, in Christian blood, spared neither religion, nor age, nor sex; they were practising fornications, incests, adulteries, in the sight of men; abandoning matrons and virgins dedi-

cated to God to the lewdness of grooms.[b] Nor were they satisfied with seizing the wealth of the Emperors, the spoils of the princes and the people; they lifted their hands to the treasures of the churches; what is more heinous, the very consecrated vessels; tearing the tablets of silver from the very altars, breaking in pieces the most sacred things, carrying off crosses and reliques." Some revolting incidents of this plunder may be gathered from the Historians. Many rushed at once to the churches and monasteries. In the Church of Santa Sophia the silver was torn off from the magnificent pulpit; the table of oblation, admired for its precious material and exquisite workmanship, broken to pieces. Mules and horses were led into the churches to carry off the ponderous vessels; if they slipped down on the smooth marble floor, they were forced to rise up by lash and spur, so that their blood flowed on the pavement. A prostitute mounted the Patriarch's throne, and screamed out a disgusting song, accompanied with the most offensive gestures. Instead of the holy chants the aisles rung with wild shouts of revelry or indecent oaths and imprecations. The very sacred vessels were not spared; they were turned into drinking cups. The images were robbed of their gold frames and precious stones. It is said that the body and blood of the Lord were profanely cast down upon the floor, and trodden under foot.[c]

There was one kind of plunder which had irresistible attraction for the most pious, that of reliques. These, like the rest of the spoil, were to have been brought into the common stock, to be divided according to the stipulated rule. But even the Abbot Martin[d] was guilty of this holy robbery. His monastery of Paris in Alsace, as well

[b] Innocent, Epist. viii. 126 (apud Brequigny and Du Theil). Compare the whole detailed account in Wilken, v. p. 301, *et seq.*

[c] Wilken conjectures that the expression of Nicetas may refer to a casket, which was supposed to contain some of the actual body and blood imparted by the Lord to his disciples before his crucifixion.—See Wilken, p. 305.

[d] "Indignum ducens sacrilegium, nisi in re sacra, committere."—Gunther, who gives a full account of this holy theft of the Abbot Martin. His spoil was a stain (vestigium) of the blood of the Lord, a piece of the Holy Cross, the arm of the apostle James, no small portion of the bones of John the Baptist, some of the milk of the Blessed Virgin, and many more.—Wilken, Gunther. See, too, the theft of the head of S. Clement, Pope and martyr, by Dalmatius of Sergy, from the Biblioth. Cluniac, also in Wilken. The note in Wilken, v. p. 306, is full of curious details.

as the churches of the bishops present at the siege, those of Soissons and Halberstadt, boasted of many sacred treasures from Constantinople, which might have been fairly obtained, but which were supposed to have been more than the fair share of those warlike dignitaries.[e]

No sooner was order restored than the Franks and Venetians took possession of the churches as their own; the principal clergy had fled, the inferior seem to have been dismissed or were driven out as if they had been Mohammedan Imauns; of provision for the worship of the Greeks according to their own ritual, in their own language, nothing is heard. After the election of the Emperor, the first act is the election of a Patriarch. It was an article of the primary compact, that of whichever nation, Venetian or Frank, the Emperor should be chosen, the nomination of the Patriarch should be with the other. In the election of the Emperor it was a significant circumstance, that of the twelve electors, those of the Franks were all ecclesiastics—the Bishops of Troyes, Soissons, Halberstadt, Bethlehem, and Ptolemais, with the Abbot of Loces. Those of Venice were lay nobles. The Bishops of Soissons and of Troyes would have placed the blind old Doge Dandolo on the imperial throne: his election was opposed by the Venetians. Pantoleon Barbo alleged the ostensible objection, the jealousy which would spring up among the Franks. But probably the wise patriotism of Dandolo himself, and his knowledge of the Venetian mind, would make him acquiesce in the loss of an honour so dangerous to his country. A Doge of Venice exalted into an Emperor, taking up his residence in the Palace of Constantinople instead of amid their own lagunes, would have been the lord, not the accountable magistrate, of the republic. Venice might have sunk to an outpost, as it were, of the Eastern Empire. But Venice, though consenting to the loss of the Empire, made haste to secure the

Election of Emperor.

[e] Some ventured to doubt the virtue of these acts. The Abbot Urspergensis says of Martin's plunder: "An furtivæ sint, judicet, qui legit. An videlicet Dominus Papa talem rapinam in populo Christiano factam potuerit justificare, sicut furtum Israelitici populi in Ægypto justificatur autoritate divinâ."—p. 256.

Patriarchate.[f] They immediately appointed certain of their own ecclesiastics Canons of Santa Sophia, in order to give canonical form to the election. By a secret oath [g] these canons were sworn never to elect into their chapter any one but a Venetian.[h] With their wonted sagacity, their first choice fell on Thomas Morosini, of one of their noble families, as yet only in subdeacon's orders, but of a lofty and unblemished character, who had been some time at Rome, and was known to stand high in the estimation of the Pope. The Venetians, who when they had any great object of ambition at stake, treated with utter contempt the Papal interdict, yet never wantonly provoked that dangerous power; now, as always when it suited their schemes, were among the humblest and most devout subjects of the Holy See. Nor was Innocent disinclined to receive the submission of the lords of one-half of the Eastern Empire. Election of Patriarch.

The Pope had watched with intense anxiety the progress of the Crusade towards Constantinople. He had kept his faith with the usurper, who had promised to unite the Greek Church to the See of Rome; he had asserted the exclusive religious object of the Crusades, by protesting first against the siege of Zara, and then against the diversion to Constantinople: the Venetians, at least, were still under the unrevoked excommunication. But the ignominious flight of his ally, the Emperor Alexius, had released him from that embarrassing connexion. No sooner was the young Alexius on the throne, than the Pope reminded him of the protestations of submission which he had made, when a suppliant for aid at the court of Rome, and which he had renewed when on board the Pilgrim fleet. He urged the Crusaders to enforce this acknowledgment of the Papal supremacy. This great blessing to Christendom could alone justify the tardy fulfilment of their vows for the reconquest of the Holy Land.

[f] Pope Innocent boldly asserts that the Church of Constantinople was raised into a Patriarchate by the See of Rome. Was this ignorance or mendacity?

[g] Wilken has cited this oath from the Liber Albus, in the archives of Vienna. — vol. v. p. 330.

[h] The Patriarch was absolved from his oath that he would appoint only Venetian canons into the chapter of S. Sophia. The Church was to receive a fifteenth of all property, with some exceptions, gained by the conquest of Constantinople. Tithes were to be paid.

Masters of Constantinople, their victory achieved, Franks and Venetians vied in their humble addresses to the Holy Father. The Emperor Baldwin, by the hands of Barochias, the Master of the Lombard Templars, informed the Pope of his election to the Empire of Constantinople, and implored his ratification of the treaty with the Venetians,[1] those true and zealous allies, without whose aid he could not have won, without whose support he could not maintain the Eastern Empire, founded for the honour of God and of the Roman See. He extolled the valiant acts of the bishops in the capture of the city. He entreated the Pope to admonish Western Christendom to send new supplies of warriors for the maintenance of his Empire, and to share in the immeasurable temporal and spiritual riches, which they might so easily obtain. The Pope was urged to grant to them, as to other soldiers of the Cross, the plenary absolution from their sins. Above all, he pressed that clergy should be sent in great numbers to plant the Latin Church, not in blood, but in freedom and peace throughout the noble and pleasant land. He invited the Pope to hold a general Council at Constantinople. These prayers were accompanied with splendid presents from his share of the booty.[k]

Venetians address the Pope.

The Venetians were not less solicitous now to propitiate the Holy Father. Already they had sent to the Legate, Peter of Capua, at Cyprus; they implored this prelate, whom they had treated before with such contemptuous disregard, to interpose his kind offices and to annul the excommunication. The Legate had sent the Treasurer of the church of Nicosia, with powers to receive

[1] The letter of Baldwin describes the Greeks in the most odious terms, as playing a double game between the Western Christians and the Unbelievers; as framing disastrous treaties with the Mohammedans, and supplying them with arms, provisions, and ships; while they refused all these things to the Latins. "But (he is addressing the Pope) it is the height of their wickedness obstinately to disclaim the supremacy of Rome." "Hæc est quæ in odium apostolici culminis, Apostolorum principis nomen audire vix poterat, nec unam eidem inter Græcos ecclesiam concedebat qui omnium ecclesiarum accepit ab ipso Domino principatum." The Latins were greatly shocked at the Greek worship of pictures. "Hæc est quæ Christum solis didicerat honorare picturis." They sometimes, among their wicked rites, repeated baptism. They considered the Latins not as men, but as dogs, whose blood it was meritorious to shed. This is an evidence of the feelings of the Crusaders towards the Greeks.—Apud Gesta Innocent. c. xci.

[k] Compare Raynaldus, sub anno.

their oath of future obedience to the Roman See and the fulfilment of their vows as soldiers of the Cross, and provisionally to suspend the interdict, which was not absolutely revocable without the sanction of the Pope. Two Venetian nobles were now despatched to Rome by the Doge. They were to inform the Pope, that, compelled by the treachery of the young Emperor Alexius, who had attempted to burn their fleet, with their brethren the temporal and spiritual pilgrims, they had conquered Constantinople for the honour of God and of the Roman Church, and in order to facilitate the conquest of the Holy Land. They endeavoured to explain away their attack on Zara; they could not believe that the inhabitants of that city were under the Pope's protection, therefore they had borne in patience the excommunication, till relieved from it by the Cardinal Peter.

Innocent's answers.

Innocent replied to both the Emperor and the Doge with some reserve, but with manifest satisfaction. He had condemned, with the severity which became the Holy Father, the enormities perpetrated during the storming of the city, the worse than infidel acts of lust and cruelty, the profane plunder and violation of the churches. But it was manifestly the divine judgment, that those who had so long been forborne in mercy, had been so often admonished not only by former Popes, but by Innocent himself, to return to the unity of the Church, to send succours to the Holy Land, should forfeit both their place and their territory to those who were in the unity of the Church, and sworn to deliver the sepulchre of Christ: in order that the land, delivered from the bad, should be committed to good husbandmen, who would bring forth good fruit in due season.[m]

The Pontiff took the new Empire under the special protection of the Holy See. He commanded all the Sovereigns of the West, and all the prelates of the Church, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, to maintain friendly relations with the new Latin kingdom, so important for the conquest of the East. He ratified the revocation of the excommunication against the Venetians by his Legate

[m] This is from the letter to the Marquis of Montferrat, in the Gesta, c. xcii.

the Cardinal Peter. He declined, indeed, to accede to the prayer of the Doge to be released from his vow, from his obligation to follow the Crusade to the Holy Land; on account of his great age and feebleness; but the refusal was the highest flattery. The Pope could not take upon himself to deprive the army of the Cross of one endowed by God with such exalted gifts, so valiant, and so wise: if the Doge would serve God and his Church henceforth with the same glorious ability, with which he had served himself and the world, he could not fail of attaining the highest reward.

Innocent assumed at once the full ecclesiastical administration. There was one clause in the compact between the Franks and the Venetians, which called forth his unqualified condemnation; they had presumed to seize the property of the Church, and after assigning what they might think fit for the maintenance of the clergy, to submit the rest to the same partition as the other lands. This sacrilegious article the bishops and the abbots in the army were to strive to annul with all their spiritual authority; the Emperor and the Doge of Venice were admonished to abrogate it as injurious to the honour, and as trenching on the sovereign authority of the Roman Church. Nor would Innocent admit the right of the self-elected Chapter, or worse, a Chapter appointed by lay authority, to the nomination of the Patriarch. He absolutely annulled this uncanonical proceeding; but from his high respect for Thomas Morosini, and the necessity to provide a head to the Church of Constantinople of his own authority, he invested Morosini with the vacant Patriarchate.[n] Morosini was allowed to accumulate within a few days the orders of Deacon, Priest, and Bishop; the Pope invested him with the Archiepiscopal pall. Innocent at the same time bestowed the highest privileges and powers on the new Patriarch, yet with studious care that all those privileges and powers emanated from, and were prescribed and limited by the Papal authority.[o] He might

Sanctions Morosini as Patriarch.

[n] "Elegimus et confirmavimus eidem Ecclesiæ Patriarcham."—Epist. viii. 20.

[o] The patriarchate of Constantinople, Innocent averred, owed its original superiority over the patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, to a grant from the successor of St. Peter.

wear the pall at all times in all places, except in Rome and in the presence of the Pope; in processions in Constantinople he might ride a white horse with white housings. He had the power of absolving those who committed violence against a spiritual person; to anoint kings within his Patriarchate at the request and with the sanction of the Emperor; to ordain at the appointed seasons and appoint all qualified persons, to distribute, with the advice of sage counsellors, all the goods of the Church, without the approbation of Rome in each special case. But all these privileges were the gifts of a superior; the dispensation with appeal in certain cases, only confirmed more strongly the right of receiving appeals in all others. Of the dispossessed and fugitive Patriarch no notice is taken either in this or any other document; the Latin Patriarch was planting a new Church in the East, as in a Pagan land.

Thus then set forth the Latin Patriarch to establish a Latin Church in the East. The Emperor had before entreated the Pope to send a supply of breviaries and missals and rituals according to the Roman use, with clergy competent to administer to the Latins. He requested also some Cistercian monks to teach the churches of Antony and Basil the true rules and constitutions of the monastic life.[p] Innocent appealed to the prelates of France to supply this want of clergy for the new church of the East. To the bishops he denounced the heresies of the Greeks; first their departure from the unity of the Church, then their denial of the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son as well as from the Father; their use of leavened bread in the Eucharist. "But Samaria had now returned to Jerusalem; God had transferred the Empire of the Greeks from the proud to the lowly, from the superstitious to the religious, from the schismatics to the Catholics, from the disobedient to the devoted servants of God."[q] He addressed the high school of Paris to send some of their learned youth to study in the East the source and origin of knowledge; he not only opened a wide field to their spiritual ambition, the conversion of the

[p] Epist. viii. 70. [q] Gesta, xciv.

Greeks to the true Apostolic faith; he described the East as a rich land of gold and silver and precious stones, as overflowing with corn, wine, and oil. But neither the holy desire of saving the souls of the Greeks, nor the noble thirst for knowledge, nor the promise of these temporal advantages (which, notwithstanding the splendid spoil sent home by some of the crusaders, and the precious treasures of art and of skill which were offered in their churches, they must have known not to be so plentiful, or so lightly won) had much effect; no great movement of the clergy took place towards the East. Philip Augustus made a wiser, but not much more successful attempt; he established a college of Constantinople in the university of Paris for the education of young Greeks, who, bringing with them some of the knowledge and learning of the East, might be instructed in the language, the creed, and the ritual of the West. This was the first unmarked step to the cultivation of the study of Greek in the West, which some centuries afterwards was so powerfully to assist in the overthrow of the sole dominion of Latin Christianity in Europe.

Thus, then, while Rome appointed the Patriarch of Constantinople, and all the churches within the dominion of the Latins adopted the Roman ritual, by the more profound hatred, on the one side contemptuous, on the other revengeful, of the two nations, the reconciliation of the Eastern and Western Churches was farther removed than ever. No doubt this inauspicious attempt to subjugate, rather than win, tended incalculably to the obstinate estrangement, which endured to the end. The Patriarch, John Camaterus, took refuge in the new Empire founded by Theodore Lascaris in Nice and its neighbourhood: to him, no doubt, the clergy throughout Greece maintained their secret allegiance. Nor was the reception of the new Latin Patriarch imposing for its cordial unanimity. Before Morosini disembarked, he sent word to the shore that the clergy and the people should be prepared to meet him with honourable homage. But the Frank clergy stood aloof; they had protested against the election being left to the Venetians; they declared that the election had been carried by un-

Greek Patriarch at Nicea.

worthy subtlety; that the Pope himself had been imposed upon by the crafty republicans. Not one appeared, and the only shouts of rejoicing were those of the few Venetians. The Greeks gazed with wonder and disgust at the smooth-faced prelate, without a beard, fat as a well-fed swine; on his dress, his demeanour,[r] the display of his ring. And the clergy, as beardless as their bishop, eating at the same table, like to him in dress and manners, were as vulgar and revolting to their notions. The contumacious French hierarchy would render no allegiance whatever to the Venetians; the excommunication which the Patriarch fulminated against them they treated with sovereign contempt. The jealousy of the Franks against the Venetian Primate was not without ground. The Venetians had from the first determined to secure to themselves in perpetuity, and, as they could not accept the temporal dominion, to make the great ecclesiastical dignities hereditary in their nation; so to establish their own Popedom in the East. But Innocent had penetrated their design; he had rigidly defined the powers of the new Patriarch, and admonished him, before he left Rome, not to lend himself to the ambition of his country, to appoint the canons of Santa Sophia for their worth and knowledge, not for their Venetian birth; the Legate was to exercise a controlling power over these appointments. From Rome Morosini had proceeded to Venice, to embark for his Patriarchate. He had been received with bitter reproaches by the son of the Doge, and many of the counsellors and nobles, as having betrayed his country; as having weakly abandoned to the Pope the rights and privileges of Venice. They threatened not to furnish him with a ship for his passage; he was deeply in debt, his creditors beset him on all sides; he was compelled to take an oath before the Senate that he would name none but Venetians, or at least those who had resided for ten years in the Venitian territory, as canons of Santa Sophia; and to take all possible measures that none but a Venetian should sit on the Patriarchal throne of Constantinople.[s] If even dim rumours of these

Reception of new Patriarch.

[r] Nicetas, *in loc.*

[s] Innocent heard of this extorted oath; he immediately addressed a letter to the Patriarch, positively prohibiting

stipulations had reached the French clergy, their cold reception of the Patriarch is at once explained. So deep, indeed, was the feud, that Innocent found it necessary to send another Legate to Constantinople, the Cardinal Benedict, who enjoyed his full and unlimited confidence. The former Legate to the East, Peter of Capua, with his colleague the Cardinal Soffrido, had caused great dissatisfaction to the Pope. He had released the Venetians from their interdict, he had deserted his proper province, the Holy Land; and, in a more open manner than Innocent thought prudent, entered into the great design for the subjugation of the Greek Empire. He had absolved the crusaders, on his own authority, from the fulfilment, for a limited period, of their vows to serve in Palestine. He had received a strong rebuke from Innocent, in which the Pope dwelt even with greater force on the cruelties, plunders, sacrileges committed after the storming of Constantinople. The Saracens in Palestine, instead of being kept in the salutary awe with which they had been struck by the capture of Constantinople, could not be ignorant that the Crusaders were now released from their vow of serving against them; and would fall with tenfold fury on the few who remained to defend the Holy Land.

The Cardinal Benedict, of Santa Susanna, conducted[t] his office with consummate skill; perhaps the disastrous state of affairs awed even the jealous clergy with the apprehension, that their tenure of dignity was but precarious. The Emperor Baldwin had now fallen a captive into the hands of the King of Bulgaria; his brother Henry, the new Sovereign, made head with gallantry, but with the utmost difficulty, against the Bulgarians, who, with their wild marauding hordes, spread to the gates of Constantinople; Theodore Lascaris had established the new Greek Empire in Asia. The Cardinal not only reconciled the Frank clergy to the supremacy of the Patriarch, Morosini himself was inclined to the larger views of the churchman rather than

Constitution of the Clergy.

A.D. 1206.

him from observing it; from the profane attempt to render the patriarchate hereditary among the Venetian aristocracy. —Gesta, c. xc.

[t] Gesta, xiv.

the narrow and exclusive aims of the Venetian. He gladly accepted the Papal absolution from the oath extorted at Venice; and, so far from the Venetians obtaining a perpetual and hereditary majority in the Chapter of Santa Sophia, or securing the descent of the Patriarchate in their nation, of the line of the Latin Patriarchs after Morosini there was but one of Venetian birth. The Legate established an ecclesiastical constitution for the whole Latin Empire. The clergy were to receive one-fifteenth of all possessions, cities, castles, tenements, fields, vineyards, groves, woods, meadows, suburban spaces, gardens, salt-works, tolls, customs by sea and land, fisheries in salt or fresh waters; with some few exceptions in Constantinople and its suburbs reserved for the Emperor himself. If the Emperor should compound for any territory, and receive tribute instead of possession, he was to be answerable for the fifteenth to the Church; he could not grant any lands in fief, without reserving the fifteenth. Besides this, all monasteries belonged to the Church, and were not reckoned in the fifteenth. No monastery was to be fortified, if it should be necessary for the public defence, without the permission of the Patriarch or the Bishop of the diocese. Besides this, the clergy might receive tithe of corn, vegetables, and all the produce of the land; of fruits, except the private kitchen-garden of the owner; of the feed of cattle, of honey, and of wool. If by persuasion they could induce the landowners to pay these tithes, they were fully entitled to receive them. The clergy and the monks of all orders were altogether exempt, according to the more liberal custom of France, from all lay jurisdiction. They held their lands and possessions absolutely, saving only allegiance to the See of Rome, and to the Patriarch of Constantinople, of the Emperor, and of the Empire.[a]

Even towards the Greeks, as the new Emperor discovered too late the fatal policy of treating the conquered race with contemptuous hatred, so the ecclesiastical rule gradually relaxed itself, and endeavoured to comprehend them without absolute abandonment of

Toleration of Greeks.

[a] Dated 16 Calends, April. Confirmed at Ferentino, Nones of August.

their ritual, without the proscription of their clergy. Where the whole population was Greek, the Patriarch was recommended to appoint a Greek ecclesiastic; only, where it was mixed, a Latin.[x] Even the Greek ritual was permitted where the obstinate worshippers resisted all persuasions to conformity, till the Holy See should issue further orders. Nor were the Greek monasteries to be suppressed, and converted, according to Latin usage, into secular chapters; they were to be replaced, as far as might be, by Latin regulars; otherwise to remain undisturbed. This tardy and extorted toleration had probably no great effect in allaying the deepening estrangement of the two churches. Nor did these arrangements pacify the Latin Byzantine Church; there were still jealousies among the Franks of the Venetian Patriarch, excommunications against his contumacious clergy by the Patriarch, appeals to Rome, attempts by the indignant Patriarch to resume some of the independence of his Byzantine predecessors, new Legatine commissions from the Pope, limiting or interfering with his authority.

A.D. 1209.

Even had the Latin conquerors of the East the least disposition to resist the lofty dictation of the Pope in all ecclesiastical concerns, they were not in a situation to assert their independence as the undisputed sovereigns of Eastern Christendom. On Innocent might depend the recruiting of their reduced, scattered, insufficient forces by new adventurers assuming the Cross, and warring for the eventual liberation of the East, and so consolidating the conquest of the Eastern Empire; on Innocent might depend the deliverance of their captive Emperor, of whose fate they were still ignorant. The King of Bulgaria, by the submission of the Bulgarian Church to Rome, was the spiritual subject of the Pope. Henry, while yet Bailiff of the Empire, during the captivity of Baldwin, wrote the most pressing letters, entreating the mediation of the Pope with the subtle Johannitius. The letter described the insurrection of the perfidious Greeks, the invasion of the Bulgarians, with their barbarous allied hordes, the fatal battle of Adrianople in

Kings of Bulgaria.

[x] Gesta, ch. cii.

which Baldwin had been taken prisoner: the Latins fled to the Pope as their only refuge above all kings and princes of the earth; they threw themselves in prostrate humility at his parental feet.

Innocent delayed not to send a messenger to his spiritual vassal, the King of Bulgaria; but his letter was in a tone unwontedly gentle, persuasive, unauthoritative. He did not even throw the blame of the war with the Franks of Constantinople on the King of Bulgaria: he reminded him that he had received his crown and his consecrated banner from the Pope, that banner which had placed his kingdom under the special protection of St. Peter, in order that he might rule his realm in peace. He informed Johannitius that another immense army was about to set out from the West to recruit that which had conquered the Byzantine Empire; it was his interest, therefore, to make firm peace with the Latins, for which he had a noble opportunity by the deliverance of the Emperor Baldwin.[y] "This was a suggestion, not a command. On his own part he would lay his injunction on the Emperor Henry to abstain from all invasion of the borders of Bulgaria; that kingdom, so devoutly dedicated to St. Peter and the Church of Rome, was to remain in its inviolable security!" The Bulgarian replied that "he had offered terms of peace to the Latins, which they had rejected with contempt; they had demanded the surrender of all the territories which they accused him of having usurped from the Empire of Constantinople, themselves being the usurpers of that Empire. These lands he occupied by a better right than they Constantinople. He had received his crown from the Supreme Pontiff; they had violently seized and invested themselves with that of the Eastern Empire; the Empire which belonged to him rather than to them. He was fighting under the banner consecrated by St. Peter; they with the cross on their shoulders, which they had falsely assumed. He had been defied, had fought in self-defence, had won a glorious victory, which he ascribed to the intercession of the Prince of the Apostles. As to the Emperor, his release was impossible, he had already

[y] Epist. viii. 132.

gone the way of all flesh." It is impossible not to remark the dexterity with which the Barbarian avails himself of the difficult position of the Pope, who had still openly condemned the invasion of Constantinople by the Crusaders, had threatened, if he had not placed them under interdict for that act; how he makes himself out to be the faithful soldier of the Pope. Nor had either the awe or fear of Innocent restrained the King of Bulgaria from putting his prisoner to a cruel death (this seems to be certain, however the manner of Baldwin's death grew into a romantic legend [z]), nor did he pay the slightest regard to the pacific counsels of Rome; the consecrated banner of St. Peter still waved against those who had subdued the Eastern Empire under allegiance to the successor of St. Peter. Till his own assassination, Johannitius of Bulgaria was the dangerous and mortal foe of the Latins in the Empire of the East.

Effects of conquest of Constantinople.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, that strange and romantic episode in the history of the Crusades, in its direct and immediate results might seem but imperfect and transitory. The Latin Empire endured hardly more than half a century, and reverted to its old effete masters. The Greeks who won back the throne were in no respect superior either in military skill or valour, in genius, in patriotism, in intellectual eminence, to those who had been dispossessed by the Latins. The Byzantine Empire had to linger out a few more centuries of inglorious inactivity; her religion came back with her, with all its superstition, with nothing creative, vigorous, or capable of exercising any strong impulse on the national mind. As the consolidation therefore of Europe into one great Christian confederacy the conquest was a signal failure; as advancing, as supporting the Christian outposts in the East it led to no result; the Crusades languished still more and more; they were now the enterprises of single enthusiastic princes, brilliant, adventurous expeditions like that of our Edward I.; even national armaments like those of

[z] Ephraim, l. 7406, 7, p. 300, edit. Bonn; Nicetas, p. 847; George Acropolita, p. 24, give different versions of his death. See also Ducange's note on Villehardouin, and Alberic des trois Fontaines, on the impostor who represented him.—Gesta Ludov. viii., apud Duchesne, Matt. Paris.

St. Louis of France, whom his gallant chivalry followed to the East as they would on any other bold campaign, obedient to, even kindled by his fanatic fervour, rather than by their own profound religious zeal. They were no longer the wars of Christendom, the armed insurrections of whole populations, maddening to avenge the cause of the injured Son of God, to secure to themselves the certain absolution for their sins, and everlasting reward.

But the immediate and indirect results on the Latin, and more especially on the Italian mind, constituted the profound importance of this event, and was at once the sign and the commencement of a great revolution. A new element had now entered into society, to contest with the warlike and religious spirit the dominion over human thought. Commercial Venice had now taken her place with the feudal monarchies of Transalpine Christendom, and with Rome the seat of ecclesiastical supremacy. A new power had arisen, which had wrested the generalship and the direction of a Crusade from the hands of the most mighty prelate who had filled the chair of St. Peter, had calmly pursued her own way in defiance of interdict, and only at her own convenient time, and for her own ends, stooped to tardy submission and apology.

Venice almost alone reaped the valuable harvest of this great Crusade. Zara was the first step to her wide commercial empire; she had wisely left the more imposing but precarious temporal sovereignty in Constantinople to her confederates; to them she abandoned whatever kingdoms, principalities, or baronial fiefs they might win upon the mainland; but she seized on the islands of the Archipelago as her own. Constantinople was not her seat of empire, but it was her central mart; the Emperor had to defend the walls on the land side, the factories of Venice at Pera were amply protected by her fleets. Wherever there was a haven there waved the flag of St. Mark: the whole coast and all the islands were studded with her mercantile establishments. Advantages secured by Venice.

Venice had been thwarted by the natural jealousy of the Church, by the vigilance and authority of the Pope, and by the defection of Morosini himself, her Patriarch,

in her bold project of retaining in her own hands the chief ecclesiastical dignity of the new Empire. It was a remarkable part of the Venetian policy, that though jealous of any overweening ecclesiastical authority at home, within her own lagunes; abroad in her colonies and conquests she was desirous of securing to herself and her sons all the high spiritual dignities, and so to hold both the temporal and ecclesiastical power in her own hands. Venice, by her fortune, or by her sagacity, had never become, never aspired to become the seat of an archiepiscopate; the city was a province first of Aquileia then of Grado; but the Archbishop was no citizen of Venice; he dwelt apart in his own city; he was at times a stately visitor, received with the utmost ceremony, but still only a visitor in Venice; he could not be a resident rival and control upon the Doge and the senators. Hence Venice alone remained comparatively free from ecclesiastical intrigue; the clergy took no part, as clergy, in the affairs of state; they had no place in the successive senatorial bodies, which at different periods of the constitution ruled the republic. Hence, even from an earlier period she dared to take a firmer tone, or to treat with courteous disrespect the mandates of the supreme Pontiff; the republic would sternly assert her right to rule herself of her own sole and exclusive authority; but in her settlements she would not disdain rule by the subsidiary aid of the ecclesiastical power.

Archbishop of Zara.

Among the first acts of Ziani, the Doge who succeeded Henry Dandolo, was the appointment of the Abbot of St. Felix in Venice to the archbishopric of Zara; he obtained the consecration and confirmation from the obsequious Primate of Grado. Not till then did he condescend to request the Papal sanction; to demand the pall for the new archbishop.

Innocent seized the opportunity of abasing the pride of Venice, of disburthening his mind of all his wrath; perhaps his prescient apprehensions of her future unruliness. "We have thought it right in our patient love to rebuke your ambassadors for the many and heinous sins wickedly committed against God, the Roman Church, and

the whole Christian people. „ The destruction of Zara; the diversion of the army of the Lord, which ought not to have moved to the right or the left, from their lawful enemies the perfidious Saracens against faithful Christian nations; the contumelious repulse of the Legate of the Roman See; the contempt of our excommunication; the violation of the vow of the Cross in despite of the crucified Saviour. Among these enormous misdeeds we will not name those perpetrated in Constantinople, the pillage of the treasures of the church, the seizure of her possessions, the attempt to make the sanctuary of the Lord hereditary in your nation by extorting unlawful oaths. What reparation can ye make for this loss to the Holy Land by your misguiding to your own ends an army so noble, so powerful, raised at such enormous cost, which might not only have subdued the Holy Land, but even great part of the kingdom of Egypt? If it has been able to subdue Constantinople and the Greek Empire, how much easier Alexandria and Egypt, and so have obtained quiet possession of Palestine? Ascribe it not then to our severity, but to your own sins, that we refuse to admit the Abbot of St. Felix, whom ye call Archbishop of Zara. It would be a just offence to all Christian people if we should seem thus to sanction your iniquity in the seizure of Zara, by granting the pall of an archbishop in that city to a prelate of your nomination."[a]

The Pope called on the Venetians to submit and make satisfaction for all their crimes against the Holy See; on making that submission he would suspend the censure which the whole world expected to fall on the contumacious republic. We hear not that Venice trembled at this holy censure; history records no proof of her fear or submission. A.D. 1206.

Through Venice flowed into Western Europe almost all those remains of ancient art, and even of ancient letters which had some effect in awakening the slumbering genius of Latin Europe. The other western kingdoms were content mostly with reliques; perhaps the great marts of Flanders, and the rising Hanse Towns had some share,

[a] Gesta, civ.

more or less direct in Eastern commerce; but of all except religious spoils, Venice alone, and through Venice Italy, was moved with some yet timid admiration of profaner works, such as the horses of Lysippus, which now again stand in her great Place of St. Mark. Venice after the conquest of Constantinople became a half Byzantine city. Her great church of St. Mark still seems as if it had migrated from the East; its walls glow with Byzantine mosaic; its treasures are Oriental in their character as in their splendour.

CHAPTER VIII.

INNOCENT AND THE ANTI-SACERDOTALISTS.

THE Crusades had established in the mind of men the maxim that the Infidel was the enemy of God, and therefore the enemy of every true servant of God. The war, first undertaken for a specific object, the rescue of the Saviour's sepulchre, that indefeasible property of Christ and Christendom long usurped by lawless force, from the profane and sacrilegious hands of the Mohammedan idolaters (as they were absurdly called), had now become a general war of the Cross against the Crescent, of every Christian against every believer in the Korân. Christian and unbeliever were born foes, foes unto death. They might hold the chivalrous gallantry, the loyalty, and the virtue each of the other, in respect: absolute necessity might compel them to make treaties which would partake in the general sanctity of such covenants; yet to these irreconcileable antagonists war was the state of nature; each considered it a sacred duty, if not a positive obligation, to extirpate the hostile faith. And in most Mohammedan countries the Christian had the claim of old possession; he fought for the recovery of his own. Mohammedanism had begun in unprovoked conquest; conquest was its sole tenure; and conquest might seem at least a part of its religion, for with each successive race which rose to power among the Mohammedans the career of invasion began again; the frontiers of Christendom were invested or driven in. All warfare, therefore, even carried into the heart of Mohammedanism, was in some degree defensive, as precautionary and preventive of future aggression; as aspiring to crush, before it became too formidable, a power which inevitably, when again matured, would be restrained by no treaty. Foreign subjugation, subjugation of Christian countries, was at once a part of the

Crusade against heretics.

creed, and of the national manners. The Nomad races, organised by a fanatic faith, were arrayed in eternal warfare against more settled and peaceful civilisation. The Crusades in the north of Germany against the tribes of Teutonic or Sclavonian race might claim, though in less degree, the character of defensive wars: those races too were mostly warlike and aggressive. The Teutonic knights were the religious and chivalrous descendants of the Templars and the Hospitallers.[a]

But according to the theory of the Church, the erring believer was as declared an enemy to God as the Pagan or the Islamite, in one respect more inexcusable and odious, as obstinately resisting or repudiating the truth. The heretic appeared to the severely orthodox Christian as worse than the unbeliever; he was a revolted subject, not a foreign enemy.[b] Civil wars are always the most ferocious. Excommunication from the Christian Church implied outlawry from Christian society; the heretic forfeited not only all dignities, rights, privileges, immunities, even all property, all protection by law; he was to be pursued, taken,[c] despoiled; put to death, either by the ordinary course of justice, (the temporal authority was bound to execute, even to blood, the sentence of the ecclesiastical court,) or if he dared to resist by any means whatever: however peaceful, he was an insurgent, against whom the whole of Christendom might, or rather was bound at the summons of the spiritual power to declare war; his estates, even his dominions if a sovereign, were not merely liable to forfeiture, but the Church assumed the power of awarding the forfeiture, as it might seem best to her wisdom.[d] The army which should execute the

[a] The Teutonic order was as yet in its infancy; it obtained what may be called an European existence (till then it was a brotherhood of charity in the Holy Land) under Herman de Salza, the loyal friend of Frederick II.

[b] The Troubadour who sings of the Albigensian war expresses the common sentiment: "Car les Français de France, et ceux d'Italie . . . et le monde entier leur court sus, et leur porte haine, plus qu'à Sarrasins."—Fauriel, p. 77.

[c] Pierre de Vaux Cernay considers every crime to be centered in heresy. The heretic is a wild beast, to be remorselessly slain wherever he is found. —Passim.

[d] Even the Emperor Henry IV. almost admitted that, if guilty of heresy, he would have justly incurred dethronement. His argument against the injustice of Hildebrand is, that he is convicted of no heresy.

mandate of the Church was the army of the Church, and the banner of that army was the Cross of Christ. So began Crusades, not on the contested borders of Christendom, not in Mohammedan or heathen lands, in Palestine, on the shores of the Nile, among the Livonian forests or the sands of the Baltic, but in the very bosom of Christendom; not among the implacable partisans of an antagonistic creed, but among those who still called themselves by the name of Christians.

Apparent religious quiet of reign of Innocent III.

The world, at least the Christian world, might seem to repose in unresisting and unrepining subjection under the religious autocracy of the Pope, now at the zenith of his power. However Innocent III., in his ostentatious claim of complete temporal supremacy as a branch of his spiritual power, as directly flowing from the established principles of his religious despotism, might have to encounter the stern opposition of the temporal sovereigns Philip of Swabia, Otho IV., Philip Augustus, or the Barons of England; yet within its clear and distinct limits that supremacy was uncontested. No Emperor or King, however he might assert his right to his crown in defiance of the Pope, would fail at the same time to profess himself a dutiful son and subject of the Church. Where the contest arose out of matters more closely connected with religion it was against the alleged abuse of the power, not against the power itself, which he appealed when he took up arms. But there was a secret working in the depths of society, which at the very moment, when it was most boastful of its unity, broke forth in direct spiritual rebellion in almost every quarter of Christendom. Nor was it the more watchful and all-pervading administration of Innocent III. which detected latent and slumbering heresies; they were open and undisguised, and carried on the work of proselytism, each in its separate sphere with dauntless activity. From almost every part of Latin Christendom a cry of indignation and distress is raised by the clergy against the teachers or the sects, which are withdrawing the people from their control. It is almost simultaneously heard in England, in Northern France, in Belgium, in Bretagne, in the

whole diocese of Rheims, in Orleans, in Paris, in Germany, at Goslar, Cologne, Trèves, Metz, Strasburg. Throughout the whole South of France, and it should seem in Hungary, this sectarianism is the dominant religion. Even in Italy these opinions had made alarming progress. Innocent himself calls on the cities of Verona, Bologna, Florence, Milan, Placentia, Treviso, Bergamo, Mantua, Ferrara, Faenza, to cast out these multiplying sectaries. Even within or on the very borders of the Papal territory Viterbo is the principal seat of the revolt.

Principle of union amongst Sectaries.

In one great principle alone the heresiarchs of this age, and their countless sects, conspired with dangerous unity. It was a great anti-sacerdotal movement; it was a convulsive effort to throw off what had become to many the intolerable yoke of a clergy which assumed something beyond Apostolic power, and seemed to have departed so entirely from Apostolic poverty and humility. It was impossible that the glaring contrast between the simple religion of the Gospel, and the vast hierarchical Christianity which had been growing up since the time of Constantine, should not, even in the darkest and most ignorant age, awaken the astonishment of some, and rouse a spirit of inquiry in others. But for centuries, from this embarrassing or distressing contrast between Apostolic and hierarchical Christianity, almost all who had felt it had sought and found refuge in monachism. And monachism, having for its main object the perfection of the individual, was content to withdraw itself out of worldly Christianity into safe seclusion; being founded on a rule, an universal rule, of passive submission, it did not of necessity feel called upon, or seem to itself justified in more than protesting against, or condemning by its own austere indigence, the inordinate wealth, power, or splendour of the clergy, still less in organising revolutionary resistance. Yet unquestionably this oppugnancy was the most active element in the jealous hostility between the seculars and the regulars, which may be traced in almost every country and in every century. We have heard the controversy between Peter Damiani and Hilde-

brand, each of whom may be accepted as the great champion of his class, which though it did not quench their mutual respect, even their friendship, shows the irreconcileability of the conflict. Yet each form of monasticism had in a generation or two become itself hierarchical; the rich and lordly abbot could not reproach the haughty and wealthy bishop as an unworthy successor of the Apostles. Clugny, which by its stern austerities had put to shame the older cloisters, by the time of St. Bernard is become the seat of unevangelic luxury and ease. Moreover, a solemn and rigid ritual devotion was an essential part of monachism. Each rule was more punctilious, more minute, more strict, than the ordinary ceremonial of the Church; and this rigid servitude to religious usage no doubt kept down multitudes, who might otherwise have raised or followed the standard of revolt. There were no rebellions to any extent in the monastic orders, so long as they were confined in their cloisters; it was not till much later, that among the Begging Friars, who wandered freely abroad, arose a formidable mutiny, even in the very camp of the Papacy.

The hierarchy, too, might seem to repose securely in its conscious strength; to look back with quiescent pride on its unbroken career of victory. The intellectual insurrection of Abélard against the dominant philosophy and against the metaphysic groundwork, if not against the doctrines of the dominant Christianity, had been crushed, for a time at least, by his own calamities and by the superior authority of St. Bernard. The republican religion of Arnold of Brescia had met its doom at the stake; the temporal and spiritual power had combined to trample down the perilous demagogue rather than heresiarch. But doctrines expire not with their teachers. Abélard left even in high places, if not disciples, men disposed to follow out his bold speculations. But these were solitary abstruse thinkers, like Gilbert de la Porée, or minds which formed a close esoteric school; no philosophising Christian ever organised or perpetuated a sect. Arnold no doubt left behind him a more deep and dangerous influence. In many minds there lingered from his teaching, if no very

definite notions, a secret traditionary repugnance to the established opinions, an unconscious aversion to the rule of the sacerdotal order.

Security of the hierarchy.

The Papacy, the whole hierarchy might seem, in the wantonness of its despotism, almost deliberately to drive Christendom to insurrection. It was impossible but that the long, seemingly interminable conflict with the imperial power, even though it might end in triumph, should not leave deep and rankling, and inextinguishable animosities. The interdicts uttered, not against monarchs, but against kingdoms like France and England; the sudden and total cessation of all religious rites; the remorseless abandonment, as it were, of whole nations to everlasting perdition for the sins or alleged sins of their sovereigns, could not but awaken doubts; deaden in many cases religious fears—madden to religious desperation. In France it has been seen that satire began to aim its contemptuous sarcasms at the Pope and the Papal power. In the reign of John, the political songs, not merely in the vernacular tongue but in priestly or monastic Latin, assume a boldness and vehemence which show how much the old awe is dropping off; and these songs, spread from convent to convent, and chanted by monks, it should seem, to holy tunes, are at once the expression and the nutriment of brooding and sullen discontent: discontent, if as yet shuddering at aught approaching to heresy, at least preparing men's minds for doctrinal license.*

* See Mr. Wright's Political songs and poems of Walter de Mapes, among the most curious volumes published by the Camden Society. In the Carmina Burana, (from the monastery of Benedict Buren, published by the Literary Union of Stutgard, 1847,) we find the same pieces, some no doubt of English origin. This strange collection of amatory as well as satirical pieces shows that the license, even occasionally the grace and beauty of the Troubadour, as well as his bitter tone against the clergy, were not confined to the South of France, or to the Provençal tongue:—

"Cum ad papam veneris, habe pro constanti
Non est locus pauperi, soli favet danti;
Vel si munus præstitum non est aliquanti.
Respondit, hæc tibia non est michi tanti.
Papa, si rem tangimus nomen habet a re;
Quicquid habent alii, solus vult palpare;
Vel si verbum gallicum vis apocopare,
Pacz, pacz dit le mot, si vis impetrare.

Papa quærit, chartula quærit, bulla quærit,
Porta quærit, cardinalis quærit, cursor quærit,
Omnes quærunt; et si quod des, uni deerit.
Totum mare salsum est, tota causa perit."
—p. 14, 18.

Here is another, out of many such passages:—

"Roma, turpitudinis jacens in profundis,
Virtutes præposterat opibus immundis;
Vacillantis animi fluctuans sub undis,
Diruit, ædificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.

Roma cunctos erudit, ut ad opes transvolent,
Plus quam Deo, Mammonæ, cor et manus immolent;
Sic ninirum pabulites malâ stirpe redolent:
Cui caput infirmum, cetera membra dolent."

From

Nor were the highest churchmen aware how by their own unsparing and honest denunciations of the abuses of the Church, they must shake the authority of the Church. The trumpet of sedition was blown from the thrones of bishops and archbishops, of holy abbots and preachers of the severest orthodoxy; and was it to be expected that the popular mind would nicely discriminate between the abuses of the hierarchical system and the system itself? The flagrant, acknowledged venality of Rome could not be denounced without impairing the majesty of Rome; the avarice of Legates and Cardinals could not pass into a proverb and obtain currency from the most unsuspicious authorities, without bringing Legates, Cardinals, the whole hierarchy into contempt. We have heard Becket declaim, if not against the Pope himself (yet even the Pope is not spared), against the court and council of the Pope as bought and sold. The King, he says, boasts that he has in his pay the whole college of cardinals; he could buy the Papacy itself, if vacant; and, if Becket brands the impiety, he does not question on this point the truth of the. King. Becket's friend, John of Salisbury, not only in the freedom of epistolary writing, but in his grave philosophic works, dwells, if with trembling reverence yet with no less force, on this indelible sin of Rome and of the legates of Rome.[f] We have heard Innocent compelled to defend himself from the imputed design of fraudulently alienating for his own use contributions raised for the hallowed purposes of the Crusade.

All these conspiring causes account for the popularity of this movement; its popularity, not on account of the numbers of its votaries, but the class in which it chiefly spread: the lower or middle orders of the cities, in many cases the burghers, now also striving

Movement anti-Sacerdotalist.

From another publication of Mr. Wright's, "Early Mysteries," p. xxv.:—

"Quicquid male, Roma, vales
Per immundos cardinales,
Perque nugas Decretales;
Quicquid cancellarii
Peccant vel notarii,
Totum camerarii
Superant Papales."

—Compare, Hist. Litér. de la France, vol. xxii. 147, 8. I had selected the same quotations.

[f] "Sed Legati sedis Apostolicæ manus suas excutiant ab omni munere, qui interdum in provincias ita debacchantur ac si ad ecclesiam flagellandam egressus sit Sathan a facie domini." He adds, "Non de *omnibus* sermo est."—Polycratic. v. 15.

after civil liberties, forming the free municipalities in the cities; and in those cities not merely opposing the authority of the nobles, but that not less oppressive of the bishops and the chapters.

This wide-spread, it might seem almost simultaneous revolt throughout Latin Christianity (though in fact it had been long growing up, and, beat down in one place, had ever risen in another); this insurrection against the dominion of the clergy and of the Pope, more or less against the vital doctrines of the faith, but universally against the sacerdotal system, comprehended three classes. These, distinct in certain principles and tenets, would of necessity intermingle incessantly, melt into, and absorb each other. Once broken loose from the authority of the clergy, once convinced that the clergy possessed not the sure, at all events, not the exclusive power over their salvation; awe and reverence for the churches, for the sacraments, for the confessional, once thrown aside; they would welcome any new excitement; be the willing and eager hearers of any teacher who denounced the hierarchy. The followers of Peter de Brueys, or of Henry the Deacon, in the South of France, would be ready to listen without terror to the zealous and eloquent Manichean; the first bold step was already taken; they would go onward without fear, without doubt, wherever conviction seemed to flash upon their minds or enthrall their hearts. In most of them probably the thirst was awakened, rather than fully allayed; they were searchers after truth, rather than men fully satisfied with their new creed.

Three classes.

These three classes were—I. The simple Anti-Sacerdotalists, those who rejected the rites and repudiated the authority of the clergy, but did not depart, or departed but in a slight degree from the established creeds; heretics in manners and in forms of worship rather than in articles of belief. These were chiefly single teachers, who rose in different countries, without connection, without organisation, each dependent for his success on his own eloquence or influence. They were insurgents, who shook the established government, but did not attempt to replace it by any new form or system of opinions and discipline.

II. The Waldenses, under whom I am disposed, after much deliberation, to rank the Poor Men of Lyons. These may be called the Biblical Anti-Sacerdotalists. The appeal to the Scriptures and to the Scriptures alone from the vast system of traditional religion, was their vital fundamental tenet.

III. The Manicheans, characterised not only by some of the leading doctrines of the old Oriental system, not probably clearly defined or understood, by a severe asceticism, and a hatred or contempt of all union between the sexes, but also by a peculiar organisation, a severe probation, a gradual and difficult ascent into the chosen ranks of the Perfect, with something approaching to a hierarchy of their own.

Peter de Brueys. The Petrobussians.

I. Not long after the commencement of the twelfth century, Peter de Brueys preached in the south of France for above twenty years.[g] At length he expiated his rebellion in the flames at St. Gilles in Languedoc. Peter de Brueys had been a clerk; he is taunted as having deserted the Church on account of the poverty of his benefice. He denied infant baptism, it is said, because the parents brought not their children with offerings; he annulled the sacrifice of the altar, because men came not with their hands and bosoms loaded with gifts and with wax-lights.

Peter de Brueys is arraigned by Peter the Venerable, as denying—I. Infant baptism. II. Respect for churches. III. The worship of the cross. The cross on which the Redeemer was so cruelly tortured, ought rather to be an object of horror than of veneration. IV. Transubstantiation and the Real Presence. It is asserted, but not proved, that he rejected the Eucharist altogether: he probably retained it as a memorial rite. V. Prayers, alms, and oblations for the dead. To these errors was added an aversion to the chanting and psalmody of the Church; he would perhaps

[g] The date is doubtful. Peter the Venerable wrote his confutation after the death of Peter de Brueys: he asserts that Peter had disseminated his heresy in the dioceses of Arles, Embrun, Die, and Gap: he afterwards went into the province of Narbonne. Baronius dated this work of Peter the Venerable in 1146. Clemencet in 1135. Fuesslin, a more modern authority, with whom Gieseler agrees, in 1126 or 1127.

replace it by a more simple and passionate hymnology.[h] How did each of these heretical tenets strike at the power, the wealth, the influence of the clergy! What terrible doubts did they throw into men's minds! How hateful must they have appeared to the religious, as to the irreligious! "What!" says the indignant Peter the Venerable, on the first of these tenets (we follow not out his curious, at times strange refutation of the rest), "have all the saints been baptized in infancy, yet, if infant baptism be null, have perished unbaptized, perished therefore eternally? Is there no Christian, not one to be saved in all Spain, Gaul, Germany, Italy, Europe?" In another respect, the followers of Peter de Brueys rejected the usages of the Church, but in no rigid or ascetic, and therefore no Manichean spirit. They ate meat on fast days, even on Good Friday. They even summoned their people to feast on those days. This was among the most revolting acts of their wickedness; as bad as acts of persecution and cruelty, of which they are accused; it shows at once their daring and the great power which they had attained. "The people are rebaptised, altars thrown down, crosses burned, meat publicly eaten on the day of the Lord's Passion, priests scourged, monks imprisoned, or compelled to marry by terror or by torture."[i]

Henry the Deacon.

But the fire which burned Peter de Brueys neither discouraged nor silenced a more powerful and more daring heresiarch. To the five errors of de Brueys, his heir, Henry the Deacon, added many more.[k] The description of the person, the habits, the eloquence of Henry, as it appeared to the incensed clergy, is more distinct than that of his doctrines. Henry had been a monk of Clugny, and was in deacon's orders. He is first heard of at Lausanne (though according to some reports his career began in Italy), but his influence over the popular mind and his hostility to the clergy first broke forth in its fulness at Le Mans. The Bishop of that see,

[h] Compare Flathe, Vorlaufer der Reformation, Hahn, Manichaïsche Ketzer, i. p. 408, *et seqq.*

[i] Peter Venerab., in Max. Biblioth. Patr., p. 1034. This refutation is the chief authority about Peter de Brueys, and his followers, called Petribussians.

[k] Acta Episcoporum Cenomansium (in Mabillon, Vet. Analect. iii. 312). Henry began in 1116.

Hildebert, incautiously gave him permission to preach, and then departed himself on a visit to Rome. The rapid change in Henry's countenance is likened to a stormy sea: his hair was cropped, his beard long; he was tall of stature, quick in step, barefooted in the midst of winter, rapid in address, in voice terrible. In years he was but a youth; yet his deep tones seemed, according to the appalled clergy of Le Mans, like the roar of legions of devils; but he was wonderfully eloquent. He went to the very hearts of men, and maddened them to a deep implacable hatred of the clergy. Yet at first some even of the clergy sate at the feet of the persuasive teacher and melted into tears. But as he rose to the stern denunciation of their vices, they saw their alienated flocks gradually look on them with apathy, with contempt, with aversion. Some who attempted to meet the preacher in argument were beaten, rolled in the mire, hardly escaped with their lives, were only protected, and in secret hiding-places, by the magistrates. They attempted a gentle remonstrance: they had received Henry with brotherly love, opened their pulpits to him; he had returned peace with enmity, sowed deadly hatred between the clergy and the people, and betrayed them with a Judas kiss. To the messenger who read this expostulation Henry sternly and briefly replied, "Thou liest." But for the officers of the Count who accompanied him the man had been stoned to death.

Henry was no Manichean; he was rather an apostle of marriage. His influence, like that of many of the popular preachers, was greatest among the loose women. That unhappy race, of strong passions, oppressed with shame and misery at their outcast and forlorn condition, are ever prone to throw themselves into wild paroxysms of penitence. They stripped themselves, if we are to believe the accounts, naked; threw their costly robes, their bright tresses, into the fire. Henry declared that no one should receive a dowry, gold, silver, land, or bridal gifts. All rushed to marriage, the poorest with the poorest, *even within the prohibited degrees.* Henry himself is said to have looked with too curious and admiring eyes on the beauty of his adoring proselytes. Young men of rank and

station wedded these reclaimed harlots in coarse robes which cost the meanest price. These inauspicious marriages ended but ill. The passion of self-sacrifice soon burned out in the youths; they grew weary, and deserted their once contaminated wives. The passion of virtue with the women, too, died away; they fell back to their old courses.

Bishop Hildebert, on his return from Rome, was met by no procession, no rejoicing at the gates. The people mocked his blessing: "We have a father, a bishop, far above thee in dignity, wisdom, and holiness." The mild Bishop bore the affront: he forced an interview on Henry, put him under examination. Henry knew not how — probably refused — to repeat the Morning Hymn. The Bishop declared him a poor ignorant man, but took no harsher measure than expulsion from his diocese.

Henry retired to the South of France, and joined Peter de Brueys as his scholar or fellow apostle. After Brueys was burned, he retired into Gascony, fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Arles, and was sent to the Council of Pisa. Innocent II. condemned him to silence, and placed him under the custody of St. Bernard. He escaped and returned to Languedoc. Desertion of churches, total contempt of the clergy, followed the eloquent heresiarch wherever he went. The Cardinal Bishop of Ostia was sent by Eugene III. to subdue the revolt; the Cardinal Alberic demanded the aid of no less a colleague than St. Bernard: "Henry is an antagonist who can only be put down by the conqueror of Abélard and of Arnold of Brescia." Bernard's progress might seem an uncontested ovation: from all quarters crowds gathered; Toulouse opened her gates; he is said by his powerful discourses to have disinfected the whole city from heresy. He found, so he writes, "the churches without people, the people without priests, the priests without respect, the Christians without Christ, the churches are deemed synagogues, the holy places of God denied to be holy, the sacraments are no longer sacred, the holy days without their solemnities." Bernard left Toulouse,

A.D. 1134.

as he hoped, as his admirers boasted, restored to peace and orthodoxy.[m]

Yet Bernard's victory was but seeming or but transient. Peter de Brueys and Henry the Deacon had only sowed the dragon seed of worse heresies, which sprung up with astonishing rapidity. Before fifty years had passed the whole South of France was swarming with Manicheans, who took their name from the centre of their influence, the city of Albi. Toulouse is become, in the words of its delegated visitors (the Cardinal of S. Chrysogonus, the Abbot of Clairvaux, the Bishops of Poitiers and Bath) the abomination of desolation; the heretics have the chief power over the people, they lord it among the clergy: as the people, so the priest.[n]

The Anti-Sacerdotalists had at the same time,[o] or even earlier, found in the north a formidable head in Tanchelin of Antwerp a layman, with his disciple, a renegade priest named Erwacher. Tanchelin appears more like one of the later German Anabaptists. He rejected Pope, archbishops, bishops, the whole priesthood. His sect was the one true Church. The Sacraments (he denied transubstantiation) depended for their validity on the holiness of him that administered them. He declared war against tithes and the possessions of the Church. He was encircled by a body-guard of three thousand armed men, he was worshipped by the people as an angel, or something higher: they drank the water in which he had bathed. He is accused of the grossest licence. A woman within the third degree of relationship was his concubine. Tanchelin began his career in the cities on the coast of Flanders; he then fixed himself at Utrecht. The bishops and clergy raised a cry of terror. Yet Tanchelin, with the renegade Erwacher, dared to visit Rome. On his return he was seized and imprisoned in Cologne by the Archbishop, escaped, first fixed himself

Tanchelin.

[m] Epist. 241, vol. i. p. 237.

[n] "Ita hæretici principabantur in populo, dominabantur in clero; eo quod populus, sic sacerdos," *et seqq.* Epist. Henric. Abbat. Clairv. apud Mansi, A.D. 1178; and in Maitland, Facts and Documents.

[o] From 1122. to 1125. Script. apud Bouquet, xiii. 108, *et seqq.* Epist. Frag. Ecclesiæ. Sigebert, apud Pertz, viii. Vita Norberti, apud Bolland, Jun. 1. Hahn, p. 458.

in Bruges, finally in Antwerp, where he ruled with the power and state of a king. He was at length struck dead by a priest, but his followers survived; no less a man than St. Norbert, the friend, almost the equal of St. Bernard, was compelled to accept the bishopric of Utrecht, to quell the brooding and dangerous revolt.

Another wild teacher, Eudo de Stella, an illiterate rustic, half revolutionised Bretagne. He gave himself out "as he that should come," was followed by multitudes, and assumed almost kingly power. He was with difficulty seized; his life was spared; he was cast into prison under the charge of Suger, Abbot of St. Denys. He died in prison; his only known tenet is implacable hostility to churches and monasteries.[p]

These, though the most famous, or best recorded Anti-Sacerdotalists, who called forth the Bernards and the Norberts to subdue them, were not the only teachers of these rebellious doctrines. In many other cities nothing is known, but that fires were kindled and heretics burned, in Oxford, in Rheims, in Arras, in Besançon, in Cologne, in Trèves, in Vezelay.[q] In this latter stately monastery, probably a year or two before the excommunication of King Henry by Becket, that awful triumph of the sacerdotal power, the Archbishops of Lyons and Narbonne, the Bishops of Nevers and Laon, and many abbots and great theologians, sate in solemn judgment on some, it should seem, poor ignorant men, called Publicans.[r] They denied all but God; they absolutely rejected all the Sacraments, infant baptism, the Eucharist, the sign of the cross, holy water, the efficacy of tithes and oblations, marriages, monkhood, the power and functions of the priesthood. Two were disposed to recant. They were examined at the solemn festival of Easter, article by article; they could not explain their own tenets. They were allowed the water ordeal. One passed through safe; the other case was

[p] Gul. Neubrig. sub ann. 1197. Continuat. Sigebert, apud Pertz, viii.

[q] Some of these may have been Manicheans, or held opinions bordering on Manicheanism. On *Oxford*, Gul. Neubrig. ii. c. 13. *Arras*, in 1183, perhaps 1083. *Besançon*, 1200. Cæsar Heisterbac, v. 15. *Cologne*, God. Monach. ad ann. 1163. *Treves*, Gesta Trevir. i. 186. They passed under the general name of Cathari; in France they were often called tisserands (weavers).

[r] Idonii or poplicolæ.

more doubtful, the man was plunged again, and condemned, to the general satisfaction. But the Abbot having some doubt, he was put to a more merciful death. Appeal was made to the whole assembly: "What shall be done with the rest?" "Let them be burned! let them be burned!" And burned they were, to the number of seven, in the valley of Ecouan.[s]

II. In Northern France these adversaries of the Church seem to have been less inclined to speculative than to practical innovations. It was an hostility to the clergy, and to all those ritual and sacramental institutions in which dwelt the power and authority of the clergy. In Southern France Manicheism almost suddenly swallowed up the followers of the simple Anti-Sacerdotalists, Peter de Brueys and Henry the Deacon. In Italy, perhaps, the political element, introduced by Arnold of Brescia, mingled with the Paulician Manicheism which stole in after the Crusades, and appeared almost simultaneously in many parts of Europe. In the valleys of the Alps it was a pure religious movement. Peter Waldo was the St. Francis of heresy, the Poor Men of Lyons were the Minorites—the lowest of the low. Some of them resembled more the later Fraticelli in their levelling doctrines, in their assertion of the kingdom of the Spirit; in some respects the wilder Anabaptists of the Church of Rome.

Biblical Anti-Sacerdotalists.

The simplicity of the Alpine peasants was naturally averse to the wealth of the monastic establishments which began to arise among them; there might survive some vague tradition of the iconoclasm and holiness of Claudius of Turin, or of the later residence of Arnold of Brescia in Zurich. But whether the spiritual parents, the brethren, the offspring of Peter Waldo[t]—

Peter Waldo.

[s] Historia Vezeliac. sub fine, in Guizot, Collection des Mémoires, vii. p. 335. All these burnings were by the civil power, to which the heretics, having been excommunicated, were given up. Yet Eichhorn observes that neither the law of the Church nor the Roman law had any general penalty against heretics beyond confiscation of goods. "Obschon weder ein Kirchengesetz noch das Römische Recht etwas anderes als confiscation ihres vermögens *allgemein* gebot." Two statutes of Frederick II. (A.D. 1222) made the punishment, which had become practice, law. "Welche allgemeine Praxis wurden, in Verbrennen bestehen sollte."—T. ii. p. 521.

[t] The date of Waldo is doubtful from 1160 to 1170. Stephanus de Borbone de VII. Donis Spiritus, iv. c. 30, professes

whether his teachers or his disciples—these blameless sectaries, in their retired valleys of Piedmont, clung with unconquerable fidelity to their purer, less imaginative faith. But whencesoever this humbler Biblical Christianity derived its origin, it received a powerful impulse from Peter Waldo. Waldo was a rich merchant of Lyons; his religious impressions, naturally strong, were quickened by one of those appalling incidents which often work so lastingly on the life of religious men. In a meeting for devotion a man fell dead, some say struck by lightning. From that time religion was the sole thought of Peter. He dedicated himself to poverty and the instruction of the people.[w] His lavish alms gathered the poor around him in grateful devotion. He was by no means learned, but he paid a poor scholar to translate the Gospels and some other books of Scripture.[x] Another grammarian rendered into his native tongue some selected sentences from the Fathers. Disciples gathered around him; he sent them, after the manner of the seventy, two by two, into the neighbouring villages to preach the Gospel. They called themselves the Humbled; others called them the Poor Men of Lyons.[y]

Two of Waldo's followers found their way to Rome. They presented a book, written in the Gallo-Roman language; it contained a text and a gloss on the Psalter, and several books of the Old and New Testament. The

to have heard the origin of the sect from persons living at the time. The passage is quoted in the Dissertation of Recchinius, prefixed to Monèta, c. xxxvii. The two famous lines in the Noble Leyczion appear to assign a proximate date to the Biblical Anti-Sacerdotalists of the Valleys:—

"Ben ha mil e cent anez compli entierament,
Que fo scripta l'ora, car som al denier temp."

I see no reason for, every reason against, reckoning these 1100 years from the delivery of the Apocalypse, a critical question far beyond the age, or from any period but the ordinary date of our Lord. All it seems to assert is that the 1100 years are fully passed, and that the "latter days" are begun. This in the usual religious language would admit, at least, any part of the twelfth century. The authenticity of these lines is asserted and argued to my mind in a conclusive manner by the highest authority, Mons. Raynouard, Poésies des Troubadours, vol. ii. p. cxlii. Compare, for similar dates especially, Dante Paradiso, xi.; Gilly, Introduction, p. xxxviii.

[w] On Waldo, Reinerius Saccho, c. iv. v.; Alanus de Insulis; Stephan. de Borbone de VII. Don. Spirit. S.

[x] Chronicle of Laon, apud Bouquet, xiii.; Gilly, p. xciv.

[y] The name Insabatati is derived by Spanheim (Hist. Christ. Sæc. xii.) from their religious observance of the Sabbath, in opposition to the holidays of the Church. It is more probably from the word *sabot*, a wooden shoe.

Papal See was not so wise as afterwards, when Innocent III., having superciliously spurned the beggarly Francis of Assisi, was suddenly enlightened as to the danger of estranging, the advantage of attaching, such men to the service of the Church. The example of Waldo may have acted as a monition. The two were received in the Lateran Council by Alexander III. The Pope condescended to approve of their poverty, but they were condemned for presuming to interfere with the sacred functions of the priesthood.[z] When they implored permission to preach, they were either met by a hard refusal, with derision, or ungraciously required to obtain the consent of the jealous clergy. Their knowledge of Scripture seems to have perplexed John of Salisbury, who writes of them with the bitterness of a discomfited theologian.

As yet it is clear they contemplated no secession from the Church; they were not included under the condemnation of heretics in the Council, but they persisted in preaching without authority. They were interdicted by the Archbishop of Lyons. Waldo resolutely replied with that great axiom, so often misapplied, and for the right application of which the conscience must be enlightened with more than ordinary wisdom, "That he must obey God rather than man."

From that time the Poor Men of Lyons were involved in the common hatred which branded all opponents of the clergy with obloquy and contempt. They were now comprehended among the heretics, condemned by Lucius III. at the Council of Verona.[a] Their hostility to the Church grew up with the hostility of the Church to them. They threw aside the whole hierarchical

Poor men of Lyons.

[z] The accounts of these proceedings at the Council of Lateran appear to me to be thus reconcileable with no great difficulty.—De Mapes; Chronic. Laon; Stephen Borbone; Moneta.

[a] Mansi, Concil. Veronens. 1184. Their preaching without licence was the avowed cause of their condemnation. "Catharos et Paterinos et eos, qui se humiliatos vel pauperes de Lugduno falso nomine mentiuntur, Passaginos, Josepinos, Arnaldistas, perpetuo decernimus anathemate subjacere. Et quoniam nonnulli sub specie pietatis virtutem ejus, juxta quod ait apostolus, denegantes, auctoritatem sibi vindicant prædicandi: cum idem apostolus dicat, *quomodo prædicabunt nisi mittantur*. Rom. x. 15. Omnes, qui vel prohibiti, vel non missi, præter auctoritatem ab apostolicâ sede vel episcopo loci susceptam, publicè vel privatim prædicare præsumpserint, pari vinculo perpetui anathematis innodamus."

and ritual system, at least as far as the conviction of its value and efficacy, along with the priesthood. The sanctity of the priest was not in his priesthood, but in his life. The virtuous layman was a priest (they had aspired to reach that lofty doctrine of the Gospel), and could therefore administer with equal validity all the rites; even women, it is said, according to their view, might officiate. The prayers and offerings of a wicked priest were altogether of no avail.[b] Their doctrine was a full, minute, rigid protest against the wealth of the Church, the power of the Church.[c] The Church of Rome they denied to be the true Church: they inexorably condemned the homicidal engagements of popes and prelates in war. They rejected the seven Sacraments, except Baptism and the Eucharist. In baptism they denied all effect of the ablution by the sanctity of the water. A priest in mortal sin cannot consecrate the Eucharist. The transubstantiation takes place not in the hand of the priest, but in the soul of the believer. They rejected prayers for the dead, festivals, lights, purgatory, and indulgencies. The only approach towards Manicheism, and that is scarcely an approach, is that married persons must not come together but with the hope of having children. In no instance are the morals of Peter Waldo and the Alpine Biblicists arraigned by their worst enemies. There is a compulsory distinction, an enforced reverence, a speaking silence. They who denounce most copiously the immoralities, the incredible immoralities of other sects in revolt against the hierarchy, acknowledge the modesty, frugality, honest industry, chastity, and temperance of the Poor Men of Lyons. Their language was simple and modest. They denied the legality of capital punishments.[d]

[b] Alani de Insulis, ii. 1.

[c] They seem to have anticipated a doctrine, afterwards widely adopted by the followers of the Abbot Joachim and the Fraticelli, that the Church was pure till the days of Silvester. Its apostasy then began. "In eo (Silvestro) defecit quousque ipsi eam restaurarent: tamen dicunt quod semper fuerint aliqui, qui Deum tenebunt et salvabantur."—See also Noble Leyczion, l. 409. Reinerii Summa. Martene. v. 1775.

[d] It is much to have extorted a milder damnation from Peter de Vaux Cernay. He derives the Waldenses from Waldo of Lyons. "They were bad, but much less perverse than other heretics." He describes them almost as a sort of Quakers. They wore sandals, like the apostles. They were on no account to swear, or to kill any one. They denied the necessity of episcopal ordination to consecrate the eucharist.—c. ii. apud Bouquet; or in Guizot, Collection des Mémoires.

The great strength of the followers of Peter Waldo was no doubt their possession of the sacred Scriptures in their own language. They read the Gospels, they preached, and they prayed in the vulgar tongue.[e] They rejected the mystical sense of the Scriptures. But besides the sacred Scriptures, they possessed other works in that Provençal dialect, in other parts of Southern France almost entirely devoted to amatory or to satiric songs. With them alone it spoke with deep religious fervour. The "Noble Lesson" is a remarkable work, from its calm, almost unimpassioned simplicity; it is a brief, spirited statement of the Biblical history of man, with nothing of fanatic exaggeration, nothing even of rude vehemence; it is the perfect, clear, morality of the Gospel. The close, which arraigns the clergy, has nothing of angry violence; it calmly expostulates against their persecutions, reproves the practice of death-bed absolution, and the composition for a life of wickedness by a gift to the priest. Its strongest sentence is an emphatic assertion that the power of absolving from mortal sin is in neither cardinal, bishop, abbot, pope, but in God alone.[f]

It is singular to find these teachers, whose whole theory was built on strict adherence to the letter of the Bible, mingled up with those whose vital principle was the rejection of the Old Testament and some part of the New. It might seem to require almost more than the fierce blindness of polemic hatred to confound them together.

[e] The third cause assigned by Reinerius Saccho for their rapid progress is "Veteris et Novi Testamenti in vulgarem linguam ab ipsis facta translatio quæ quidem edita est in urbe Metensi." They were strong in Metz. Alberic. Chronic. ad ann. 1200. But was the Romaunt version understood in Metz? There was more than one popular version.—See Preface by Le Roux de Lincy to the iv. Livres des Rois, Documents Inédits.—Compare the letter of Innocent III. (ii. 141) on this subject. Two of the other causes assigned are the ignorance and irreverence of some of the clergy.

Dr. Gilly has rendered the valuable service of printing the Romaunt version of the Gospel according to St. John. Dr. Gilly thinks that he has proved this version to be older, as quoted in it, than the Noble Leyczion. The quotations do not seem to me to be conclusive; they are like in many words, unlike in others. It is a very curious fact, if it will bear rigid critical investigation, that the Romaunt Version sometimes follows the old Versio Itala (as printed by Sabatier) rather than the Vulgate.—Dr. Gilly's Preface.

[f] "Ma yo aus o dire, car se troba el ver,
Que tuit li Papa, que foron de Silvestre entiro en aquest,
E tuit li cardinal li vesque e tuit li aba,
Tuit aqueste ensemp non han tan de potesta
Que ilh poissan perdonar un sol pecca mortal;
Solamente Dio perdona: que autre non ho po far."—408-412.

—Raynouard, p. 97.

But it is not the simplicity of the "Noble Lesson" alone, as contrasted with the whole system of traditional, legendary, mythic religion; the secret is in that last fatal sentence—the absolute denial of Papal, of priestly absolution.[g]

Manichean heretics.

III. To these Anti-Sacerdotal tenets of the more speculative teachers, and the more practical antagonism of the disciples of Waldo, a wide-spread family of sects added doctrinal opinions, either strongly coloured by, or the actual revival and perpetuation of the ancient Eastern heresies. Nothing is more curious in Christian history than the vitality of the Manichean opinions. That wild, half poetic, half rationalistic theory of Christianity, with its mythic machinery and stern asceticism (like all asceticism liable to break forth into intolerable licence), which might seem congenial only to the Oriental mind; and if it had not expired, might be supposed only to linger beyond the limits of Christendom in the East, appears almost suddenly in the twelfth century, in living, almost irresistible power, first in its intermediate settlement in Bulgaria, and on the borders of the Greek Empire, then in Italy, in France, in Germany, in the remoter West, at the foot of the Pyrenees.[h]

The tradition of Western Manicheism breaks off about the sixth century; if it subsisted, it was in such obscurity as to escape even the jealous vigilance of the Church.[i]

[g] The doctrinal differences could not but be discerned. "Et illi quidem Valdenses contra alios (Arianos et Manicheos) acutissime disputabant." So writes one of their most ardent adversaries, the Abbot of Puy Laureus.—In prologo.

[h] On the Albigensian wars the chief authorities, besides the papal letters and documents, are the Chronicle of Peter de Vaux Cernay (I sometimes quote him in Latin from Bouquet, sometimes in French from Guizot, Collection des Mémoires); the Abbot de Puy Laurens (ibid.); the Guerre des Albigeois; and the Gestes Glorieuses, in Guizot: and the very curious Romaunt poem, Guerre des Albigeois, published by Mons. Fauriel (Documents Historiques). I cite him as the Troubadour. The Troubadour attributes his song (canson, chanson) to Master William of Tudela, a very learned man, greatly admired by clerks and laymen, endowed with the gift of geomancy, by which he predicted the destruction of the land. This personage was at first, erroneously as M. Fauriel shows, supposed to have been the poet. The poet says that he wrote it at Montauban, and denounces the niggardly nobles, who had neither given him vest nor mantle of silk, nor Breton palfrey to amble through the land. "But as they will not give a button, I will not ask them for a coal from their hearth. . . . The Lord God, who made the sky and the air, confound them, and his holy mother Mary."—p. 17. On the change in the Troubadour's politics, see forward. The Histoire de Languedoc, by Dom. Vaissette, is an invaluable and honourably impartial work.

[i] Mr. Maitland has been unable to discover any notice of Manicheism in

But in the East its descent is marked by the rise of a new, powerful, and enduring sect, the Paulicians. The history of Latin Christianity may content itself with but a brief and rapid summary of the settlements, migrations, conquests, calamities of the Paulicians; till they pass the frontier of the Greek Empire, and invade in the very centre the dominions of the Latin Church.[k] Their name implies that with the broader principles of Manicheism, they combined some peculiar reverence for the doctrine, writings, and person of St. Paul. In an Eastern mind it is not difficult to suppose a fusion between the impersonated, deified, and oppugnant powers of good and evil, and St. Paul's high moral antagonism of sin and grace in the soul of man, the inborn and hereditary evil and the infused and imparted righteousness. The war within the man is but a perpetuation of the eternal war throughout the worlds.

The Paulicians burst suddenly into being, in the neighbourhood of Samosata. Their first apostle, Constantine, is said to have wrought his simpler system out of the New Testament, accidentally bestowed upon him, especially from the writings of St. Paul. His disciples rejected alike the vast fabric of traditionary belief, which in the Greek and Latin Churches had grown up around the Gospel; and the cumbrous and fantastical mythology of the older Manicheism.[m] The Paulicians spread over all the adjacent regions, Asia Minor, Pontus, to the borders of Armenia and the shores of the Euphrates. Persecution gave them martyrs, the first of these was their primitive teacher. The blood of martyrs, as with Christianity itself, seemed but to multiply their numbers and strength. They bore, during many successive reigns, in Christian patience the intolerant wrath of Justinian II., of Nicephorus, of Michael I., of Theodora. Their num- The Paulicians.

Europe for more than 400 years; from the sixth century to the burning of the Canons at Orleans in 1017 or 1022. Gieseler has one or two very doubtful references. I doubt, with Mr. Maitland, the Manicheism of these Canons.—Facts and Documents, p. 405. The account of the canons is in Adhemar apud Bouquet, x. 35, and Rodulf Glaber. Those of Arras (Acta Synod. Atrab. apud Mansi, sub ann. 1025) are far more suspicious.

[k] The history of the Paulicians has been drawn with such vigour, rapidity, fulness, and exactness by Gibbon, that I feel glad of this excuse.—c. liv.

[m] The Paulicians disclaimed Manes. Προσύμως ἀναθεματίζουσι Σκυθιανὸν Ψωδῆ τε καὶ Μανίντα.—Petr. Sicul. p. 42.

bers may be estimated by the report that during the short reign of that Empress perished 100,000 victims.
A.D. 842. Persecution at length from a sect condensed them into a tribe of rebels. They rose in revolt. Their city Tephrice, near Trebisond, became the capital of an independent people. They leagued with the Mohammedans; they wasted Asia Minor. Constantine Copronymus, with their own consent, transported a great body of Paulicians into Thrace, as an outpost to the Byzantine Empire. John Zimisces conducted another great migration to the valleys of Mount Hæmus. From their Bulgarian settlements (they had mingled apparently to a considerable extent with the Bulgarians), the Crusades, the commerce which arose out of the Crusades, opened their way into Western Europe. Manicheism, under this form, is found in almost every great city of Italy. The name of Bulgarian (in its coarsest form) is one of the appellations of hatred, which clings to them in all quarters. At the accession of Innocent III. Manicheism is almost undisputed master of Southern France.[n]

Western Manicheism. Western Manicheism, however, though it adhered only to the broader principles of Orientalism, the two co-equal conflicting principles of good and evil, the eternity of matter and its implacable hostility to spirit, aversion to the Old Testament as the work of the wicked Demiurge, the unreality of the suffering Christ, was or became more Manichean than its Grecian parent Paulicianism. The test which distinguishes the Manichean from the other Anti-Sacerdotalists is the assertion, more or less obscure, of those Eastern doctrines; the more visible signs, of asceticism, the proscription, or hard and reluctant concession of marriage, or of any connection between the sexes; and the strong distinction between the Perfect and the common disciples. They were called in disdain the Puritans (Cathari), an appellation which perhaps they did not disdain; and it is singular that the opprobrious term

[n] Some of the Catholic writers assert distinctly their Greek descent. "Illi vero qui combusti sunt [those at Cologne] *dixerunt nobis in defensione suâ* hanc hæresin usque ad hæc tempora occultatam fuisse a temporibus martyrum in Græciâ, et quibusdam aliis terris." See also Reiner apud *Martene*, Thes. v. 1767, who mentions the "Bulgarian community."—Muratori, Antiq. Ital. v. 83.

applied by the married clergy to the Monastics, Paterines, is now the common designation of the Manichean haters of marriage. Western Manicheism is but dimly to be detected in the eleventh century. The Canons of Orleans were, if their accusers speak true, profligates rather than sectarians. Those burned by Heribert, Archbishop of Milan, were accused of two strangely discordant delinquencies, both irreconcileable with Manicheism—Judaism and Paganism. These heretics held the castle of Montforte, in the diocese of Asti. They were questioned; they declared themselves prepared to endure any sufferings. They honoured virginity, lived in chastity even with their wives: never touched meat, fasted, and so distributed their prayers that in no hour of day were orisons not offered to the Lord. They had their goods in common. They believed in the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, *in the power of binding and loosing; in the Old and New Testament.* Their castle stood a siege. It was taken at length by the resistless arms of the Archbishop. All endeavours were made to convert the obstinate sectarians. At length in the market place, were raised, here a cross, there a blazing pyre. They were brought forth, commanded to throw themselves before the cross, confess their sins, accept the Catholic faith, or to plunge into the flames; a few knelt before the cross; the greater number covered their faces, rushed into the fire and were consumed.[o]

But in the twelfth century Manicheism is rampant, bold, undisguised. Everywhere are Puritans, Paterines, Populars, suspected or convicted or confessed Manicheans. The desperate Church is compelled to resort to the irrefragable argument of the sword and the stake. Woe to the prince or to the magistrate who refused to be the executioner of the stern law. During the last century, Wazon, Bishop of Liège, had lifted up his voice, his solitary voice, against this unchristian means of conversion:[p] no such sound is

[o] Sub ann. 1031. Landulph. Sen. ii. c. 27, apud Muratori, R. It. S. iv. If the human race, said one, would abstain from fleshly connection, men would breed like bees, without conjunction. Did they know that they were quoting an ancient orthodox Father? They said they had a Supreme Pontiff—not the Bishop of Rome—probably, the Holy Spirit.

[p] Gesta Episcop. Leodens. c. 59. Gieseler, note, p. 413.

now heard; if uttered, it is overborne by the imperious concord of prelates in Council, by the authoritative voice of the Pope. The Crusade begins its home mission. In Cologne. Cologne, the ready populace throw the heretics into the flames.[q] The clergy, the Archbishop at Nicea, desired a more deliberate and solemn judgment. The calmness of the heretics in the fire amazed, almost appalled their judges.

The chief seat of these opinions was the South of France. Innocent III., on his accession, found not only these daring insurgents scattered in the cities of Italy, even, as it were, at his own gates (among his first Languedoc. acts was to subdue the Paterines of Viterbo), he found a whole province, a realm, in some respects the richest and noblest of his spiritual domain, absolutely dissevered from his Empire, in almost universal revolt from Latin Christianity. This beautiful region, before the fatal crusade against the Albigensians, had advanced far more rapidly towards civilisation than any other part of Europe; but this civilisation was entirely independent of or rather hostile to ecclesiastical influence. Languedoc (as also Provence), the land of that melodious tongue first attuned to modern poetry, was one of the great fiefs of the realm of France, but a fief which paid only remote and doubtful fealty; it was almost an independent kingdom. The Count of Toulouse[r] was suzerain of five great subordinate fiefs. I. Narbonne, whose Count possessed the most ample feudal privileges. II. Beziers, under which Viscounty held the Counts of Albi and Carcassone. III. The Countship of Foix, with six territorial vassalages. IV. The Countship of Montpellier, now devolved on Pedro, King of Arragon. V. The Countship of Quercy and Rhodez. The courts of these petty sovereigns vied with each other in splendour and gallantry. Life was a perpetual tournament or feast. The Count of Toulouse

[q] 1146. Evervini, Epist. ad Bernard, in Mabillon. With these, though in their condemnation of marriage (which they did not explain), and in their organization (the Perfect and the hearers) Manichean, the dominant tenets were simply Anti-Sacerdotalist. Some said human souls were apostate spirits imprisoned in the flesh.—Ekberti, Sermon xiii. in Biblioth. P. P. Lugdun.

[r] Capefigue, Philippe Auguste, iii. 1.

and his vassals had been amongst the most distinguished of the Crusaders; they had brought home many usages of Oriental luxury. Their intercourse with the polished Mussulman courts of Spain, if war was not actually raging, or even when it was, had become courteous, almost friendly. Their religion was chivalry, but chivalry becoming less and less religious; the mistress had become the saint, the casuistry of the Court of Love superseded that of the confessional. There had grown up a gay licence of manners, not adverse only to the austerity of monkish Christianity, but to pure Christian morals.

The cities had risen in opulence and splendour. Many of them had preserved their Roman municipal institutions: their Consuls held the supreme power in defiance of temporal and spiritual lords. In the cities, the Jews were numerous and wealthy; against them the religious prejudices had worn away and mitigated into social intercourse. Literature, at least poetry, had begun to speak to the prince and to the people. But if the Romaunt among the peasants of the Alpine valleys confined itself to grave and holy lessons, in Languedoc it was the amatory or satiric song of the Troubadour. Notwithstanding the lofty homage of Dante,* the exquisite flattery of Patrarch's emulation, it may be doubted whether the Provençal poetry so prematurely refined, subtle, and effeminate, would, if uncrushed with the rest of the Provençal civilisation by the revengeful Church, ever have risen to an honourable height. The Troubadour (though he might occasionally urge the pious glory of adventure in the Holy Land) was in general content with being the Poet Laureate of the Courts of Love. The war hymn seemed to have expired on the lips of the fierce Bertrand de Born. It has ceased to be passionate, is become

Provençal Poetry.

* See on Arnold Daniel, Dante Purgatorio, xxvi. 118. Petrarch, Triunfo d'Amore, Petrarch's general imitation of the Provençal poets. Whoever will read the Florilegium in the second volume of M. Raynouard will hardly deny the Provençal poets the praise of grace and delicacy. The Epic on the war of the Albigenses, infinitely curious as history, as poetry is stone dead; Girart de Rousillon appears not very hopeful; if Ferabras be indeed Provençal, not northern, "that strain is of a higher mood." See the very interesting notices by the late M. Fauriel in his new volume (the 22nd) of the Hist. Litéraire de la France, pp. 167, *et seqq.*, and on Bertrand de Born, the friend and rival poet of Richard Cœur de Leon. Also Diez, Troubadours, p. 179.

ingenious; it is over refined in word and thought, often coarse in matter. But this was the song and the music in the castle hall, at the perpetual banquet. The chant in the castle chapel was silent, or unheard. The priest was either pining in neglect, or listening, as gay as the rest, to the lively troubadour.[t] Nor was the Troubadour without his welcome song in the city; it was there the bitter satire on the clergy, the invective against the vices, the venality of Rome, against the pilgrimage to Rome, against the morose bishop, if such bishop there were, or against the Legate himself.

Low state of the clergy.

In no European country had the clergy so entirely, or it should seem so deservedly forfeited its authority. In none had the Church more absolutely ceased to perform its proper functions. If heresy was the cause of the degradation of the Church, the self-degradation of the Church had given its strength to heresy; the profession which was the object of ambition, of awe if not of reverence, of hatred if not of love, in other parts of Christendom, had here fallen into contempt. Instead of the old proverb for the lowest abasement, "I had rather my son were a Jew," the Provençals said, "I had rather he were a priest."[u]

The knights rarely allowed their sons to enter into orders, but, to secure the tithes to themselves, presented the sons of low-born vassals to the Churches, whom the bishops were obliged to ordain for want of others. The heretics had public burial-grounds of their own, and received larger legacies than the Church. This was not the work of Peter de Brueys, or of Henry the Deacon. That work must have been half done for the heresiarchs by the wealthy, indolent, luxurious clergy. Men, in a religious age, will have religion; and it can hardly be supposed that the Provençal mind had generally outgrown the ancient ritualistic faith, if that faith had been administered with dignity, with gentleness, with decency.

St. Bernard's conquest had passed away with his pre-

[t] Raynouard.

[u] William de Puy Laurens. I quote either the Latin from Bouquet, or the French from Guizot's Collection des Mémoires.

sence. Not many years after, a council at Lombers[x] (near Albi) arraigns a number of persons of Manichean opinions, rejection of the Old Testament, erroneous tenets on baptism and the Eucharist, repudiation of marriage. They extort an unwilling, seemingly an insincere assent to the orthodox creed. Thirteen years after, the Count of Toulouse himself (Raymond V.) raises a cry of distress. Five distinguished prelates, with the sanction of the Kings of England and of France, the Cardinal Peter Chrysogonus at their head, find the whole country almost in possession of the heretics.[y] A.D. 1165. A.D. 1178.

So basked the pleasant land in its sunshine; voluptuousness and chivalrous prodigality in its castles,[z] luxury and ease in its cities: the thunder-cloud was far off in the horizon. The devout found their religious excitement in the new and forbidden opinions; there was for the more hard and zealous an asceticism which put to shame the feeble monkery of those days; for the more simply pious, the biblical doctrines; and what seems to have been held in the deepest reverence, the Consolation in death, which, administered by the Perfect alone (men of tried and known holiness), had all the blessing, none of the doubtful value of absolution bestowed by the carnal, wicked, worldly, as well as by the most sanctified, priest.

Innocent had hardly ascended the Pontifical throne, when he wrote, first, a strong letter to the Archbishop of Auch; in a few months after, a mandate, addressed to all the great prelates in the April 20, 1198. First measures of Pope Innocent.

[x] Acta in Mansi, sub ann. Compare for all this period Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, iii. in imit.

[y] "This heresy, which the Lord curse (says the devout Troubadour), had in its power the whole Albigeois, Carcassone, and Lauragais, from Beziers to Bourdeaux."—Fauriel, p. 5; Vaissette, sub ann. "Churches were in ruins, baptism refused, the eucharist in execration, penance despised. Sacraments anéantis—on introduisit les deux principes."—p. 47. Raymond V. died in 1194. He had burned many heretics.

[z] "Dans la fameuse fête de Beaucaire, où se réunirent une multitude de chevaliers des pays Provençaux, d'Aquitaine, d'Aragon, et de Catalogne, les princes Provençaux semblèrent vouloir rivaliser de faste extravagant avec les despotes Asiatiques; le comte de Toulouse gratifia de cent mille sous d'argent le Seigneur Raymond d'Argent, qui les distribua entre tous les chevaliers présents. Bertraud Raimbaud, Comte d'Orange, fit labourer tous les environs du château et y fit semer jusqu'à trente mille sous en deniers. Raymond de Venous fit brûler, par ostentation, trente de ses plus beaux chevaux devant l'assemblée."—Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 37. "Le Midi délirait à la veille de sa ruine."—Michelet, and also H. Martin, Histoire de France, iv. p. 189.

south of France; the Archbishops of Aix, Narbonne, Auch, Vienne, Arles, Embrun, Tarragona, Lyons, with their suffragans: to all the princes, barons, counts, and all Christian people. This Papal Manifesto broadly asserted the civil as well as religious outlawry of all heretics;[a] the right to banish them, to confiscate their property; to coerce, or to put them to death. The temporal sovereigns were, at the summons of the two Legates, Rainer and Guy (Cistercian monks), to carry these penalties submissively into effect,[b] they were offered the strong worldly temptation of all the confiscated estates, and indulgences the same as they would have obtained by visiting the churches of St. Peter and St. James of Compostella.

But these first measures only aggravated the evil. The mission of these Cistercian brethren as Papal Legates, and that of the Cardinal John, were alike without effect.[c] To the honour of the Sovereigns of the great fiefs they were not moved by the temporal or spiritual boons. Nor could this refusal of the nobles to perform the rigorous behest of the Pope be attributed altogether to humanity. Their wives and families, if not themselves, were deeply implicated in the religious insurrection. In one assembly, held in the year 1204,[d] five of the most distinguished ladies of Provence, among them Esclarmonde, widow of Jordan Lord of Lisle Jourdain, and sister of the Count of Foix,[e] were admitted into the heretical community. At the public reception of these ladies by one of the Perfect, they gave themselves up to God and his Gospel, promised for the future to eat

Cistercian brethren. 1200.

[a] Innocent names as the obnoxious heretics the Valdenses, the Cathari, and the Paterini. He acknowledges their works of love; but with the charity of a churchman of that age, ascribes these to dissembling artifice, in order to obtain proselytes. "Justitiæ vultum prætendunt, et studentes simulatis operibus caritatis, eos amplius circumveniunt, quos ad religionis propositum viderint ardentius aspirare."—Apud Baluz, i. 94.

[b] "Postquam per prædictum fratrem Rainerum fuerint excommunicationis sententiâ innodati, eorum bona confiscent, et de terra suâ proscribant." The further "animadversion" is indicated by a significant allusion to the stoning of Achan, the son of Carmi.

[c] "Mais (Dieu me bénisse! je ne puis autrement dire) si non que les hérétiques ne font pas plus de cas des sermons que d'une pomme gâtée."—Fauriel, p. 7. This preaching lasted five years.

[d] Vaissette, Hist. de Languedoc, iii. p. 133. Preuves, p. 437.

[e] The other sister and the wife of the Count of Foix were Waldensians.—Petr. V. C. vi. 10.

neither meat, eggs, nor cheese, to allow themselves only vegetables and fish. They pledged themselves further neither to swear nor to lie, to abstain from all carnal intercourse, and to be faithful to the sect even unto death.

New powers were demanded; sterner and more active agents required to combat the deepening danger. The Pope looked still to the monastic orders, to the spiritual descendants of St. Bernard. Peter of Castelnau and Raoul, of that Order, were now charged with the desperate enterprise. These first Inquisitors were invested with extraordinary powers; to them was transferred the whole episcopal authority; the ordinary jurisdiction was superseded at their will; the Archbishop of Narbonne accuses them of extending the powers with which they were endowed for the suppression of heresy, to punish the excesses even of the clergy.[f] They retorted by laying informations in Rome against the Archbishop; they deposed the Bishop of Viviers; suspended the Bishop of Beziers; he had refused to excommunicate the consuls of his city infected with heresy. The Legates assembled the bailiffs, the Count of Toulouse, and the Consuls of the city, and extorted an oath to expel the "good men" from the land. The oath had no effect; Toulouse, the deceitful,[g] went on in its calm tolerance. To these Papal Legates, to Peter of Castelnau, and to Raoul, was associated Arnold d'Amauri, the Abbot of Citeaux, the Abbot of Abbots, a man whose heart was sheathed with the triple iron of pride, cruelty, bigotry. The sermons of Arnold were met with derision.[h] The Papal Legates travelled through the land from city to city, in the utmost hierarchical pomp, with their retinue in rich attire, and a vast cavalcade of horses and sumpter mules. It was on their second circuit that they encoun-

New Legates.

A.D. 1203.

[f] "Deinde cum pro hæreticis expellendis solummodo legatio prima vobis injuncta fuisset, vos ad ampliandam vestræ legationis potestatem, clericorum excessus hæresim esse interpretantes, multa contra formam mandati, et in detrimentum ecclesiæ Narbonensis egistis." —Epist. ad Innocent III. apud Vaissette, Preuves, May 29, 1204.

[g] "Tolosa, tota dolosa."—Petr. de V. C.

[h] Of Arnold writes the Troubadour: "Ce saint homme s'en alla avec les autres par la terre des hérétiques, leur prêchant de se convertir, mais plus il les priait, plus ils se raillaient de lui et le tenaient pour sot."—p. 7.

tered, near Montpellier (in Montpellier alone the King of Arragon had attempted to enforce the expulsion of the heretics), the Spanish Bishop of Osma, on his way to the north, with (the future saint) Dominic. The dejected Legates bitterly mourned their want of success. "How expect success with this secular pomp?" replied the severer Spaniards. "Sow the good seed as the heretics sow the bad. Cast off those sumptuous robes, renounce those richly-caparisoned palfreys, go barefoot, without purse and scrip, like the Apostles; out-labour, out-fast, out-discipline these false teachers." The Spaniards were not content with these stern admonitions; the Bishop of Osma and his faithful Dominic, sent back their own horses, stripped themselves to the rudest monkish dress, and led the way on the spiritual campaign. The Legates were constrained to follow. Yet, notwithstanding their boasted triumphs in all the conferences, which were held at Verfeil, Caraman, Beziers, at Carcassonne, Montreal, Pamiers; notwithstanding their wise compliance with the counsel of Dominic, notwithstanding the exertions of that eloquent and indefatigable man and the preachers whom he had already begun to organise, their barefoot pilgrimage, their emulous or surpassing austerities, Heresy bowed not its head; it was deaf to the voice of the charmer. The temporal power must be commanded to do the work which the spiritual cannot do. Already the Legates had wrung the unwilling sentence of expulsion of the heretics from the municipal authorities of Toulouse. Yet it was a concession of fear, not of persuasion. The assemblies were still held, if with less ostentation, hardly with disguise.[1]

Toulouse must have a Bishop at least of energetic character. In the time of Bishop Fontevraud the episcopal authority had sunk so low that he could not exact even his lawful revenues, and when he went on his visita-

[1] "Tandem illæ duæ *olivæ!* illa duo candelabra lucentia ante Dominum servis servilem incutientes timorem, minantes eis rerum dilapidationem, regum ac principum dedignationem intimantes, hæresium objurationem, hæreticorum expulsionem eis persuaserunt; sicque ipsi non virtutis amore sed, secundum poetas 'cessabant peccare mali formidine pœnæ,' quod manifestis maliciis demonstrarunt. Nam statim perjuri effecti, et miseriæ suæ recidium patientes, in conventiculis suis, ipso noctis medio, prædicantes hæreticos occultabant."—Petr. V. C. apud Bouquet. See also Gul. de Pod. Laurent., apud Bouquet, and Vit. S. Dominic, apud Bolland.

tion he was obliged to demand a guard from the Count for his personal safety. He was succeeded by Raymond de Rabenstein, who passed the three years of his episcopate, which he had gained by simony, in war with one of his vassals, by which he had so utterly ruined his finances, that he submitted quietly to be deposed at the will of the Pope. His successor, Fulk of Marseilles,[k] was of a different, even less Christian character. There is no act of treachery or cruelty throughout the war in which the Bishop of Toulouse was not the most forward, sanguinary, unscrupulous. Fulk in his youth had been a gay Troubadour. The son of a rich Genoese, settled at Marseilles, he despised trade, wandered about to the courts of the more accomplished princes of the day, Richard of England, Alphonso of Arragon, and the elder Raymond of Toulouse. Fulk delighted the nobles with his amorous songs (still to be read in their unchastened warmth) and aspired to the favour of high-born ladies. The wife and both the sisters of Barral, Viscount of Marseilles, were the objects of his lyric adoration. Repulsed by Viscountess Adelheid, he was seized with a poetic passion for Eudoxia, wife of William of Montpellier. On the death of this prince, by which he was greatly shocked, he threw himself into a cloister; the passion of devotion succeeded to worldly passions. The monastic discipline scourged all tenderness out of his heart, and by unchristian cruelty to himself, he trained himself to far more unchristian cruelty towards others.

Eight years had passed of ineffective preaching, menace, fulmination. The Sovereign of the land must be summoned to be the Lictor of the Papal Mandate, the executioner on his own subjects of the awful sentence of blood by shedding which, with hypocrisy which only aggravates cruelty, the

[k] The songs of Fulk of Marseilles may be found in Raynouard, vol. ii. See also Fauriel, Hist. de la Poésie Provençale, vol. ii. Life of Fulk, Hist. Littéraire de la France, xviii. p. 586, &c. "Après avoir donné la moitié de sa vie à la galanterie, il livra sans retenue l'autre moitié à la cause de tyrannie, du meurtre et de spoliation, et malheureusement il en profita." He had a remarkable talent for poetry:—"Amant passionné des dames, apôtre fougueux de l'Inquisition, il ne cessa de composer des vers qui portèrent l'empreinte de ses passions successives." Compare his verses to the Lady of Marseilles and his Hymn to the Virgin. He was at the court of Cœur de Lion at Poitiers; of Raymond V.; of Alphonso II. of Arragon; of Alphonso IX., king of Castile. Dante places him in Paradise,

Church held itself sullied; such sentence here, indeed, it wanted the power to accomplish without the civil aid.

Count Raymond of Toulouse.

Raymond VI. Count of Toulouse is darkly-coloured by the hatred of the sterner among the writers of the Church of Rome as a concealed heretic, as a fautor of heretics, as a man of deep dissimulation and consummate treachery. He appears to have been a gay, voluptuous, generous man, without strength of character enough to be either heretic or bigot. Loose in his life, he had had five wives, three living at the same time, the sister of the Viscount of Beziers, the daughter of the King of Cyprus, the sister of Richard of England; on the death of the last he married the sister of King Pedro of Arragon. The two latter were his kindred within the prohibited degrees. This man was no Manichean! Yet Raymond, even though his wives were thus uncanonically wed, is subject to no high moral reproof from the Pope; it is only as refusing to execute the Papal commands against his subjects (towards him at least unoffending), that he is the victim of excommunication, is despoiled of realm, of honour, of salvation.[l]

Raymond had succeeded to the sovereignty four years[m] before the accession of Innocent III. The first event of his reign was his excommunication for usurpation (as it was called) on the rights of the clergy of St. Gilles. This excommunication it was one of Innocent's first acts to remove.[m] The position of the Count of Toulouse and of his nobles had been strange and trying for the most courageous and wisest of men. They knew that they could not persuade, they could hardly hope to defend, they were called upon to persecute their subjects, their peaceful,

A.D. 1098.

[l] Compare on Raymond Petr. V. C. c. iv. The Abbot had heard from a Bishop a speech of Raymond's: "Quod monachi Cistercienses non poterant salvari, quia tenebant oves, quæ luxuriam exercebant. O hæresis inaudita!" All his stories he relates on the authority of the Abbot Arnold, Raymond's deadly enemy. Many irreverent speeches were attributed to him, some implying heresy. "I see the devil made this world; nothing turns out as I wish." Playing at chess with his chaplain, he said, "The God of Moses, in whom you believe, will not help you." The following are still more improbable. He said of a heretic of Castres, who had been mutilated, and dragged out a miserable life, "I had rather be he than king or emperor." "I know that I shall lose my realm for the 'good men:' I will bear the loss of my realm, even of my life, in their cause."

[m] A.D. 1194. Vaissette, p. 101.

perhaps attached subjects, for a crime of which at least they did not feel the atrocity. They were commanded to be the obeisant executioners of punishments not awarded by themselves, of which they did not admit the justice, of which they could not but see the inhumanity. They were summoned by the Church, which was itself by its negligence, its dissoluteness, its long-continued worldliness, its want of Christianity, at least a main cause of the evil.[n] They were peremptorily ordered to desolate their country, to expel, or worse, to pursue to death a large part, and that the most industrious, most prosperous of their subjects; thus to repay the obedience and love of those among whom they had been born and had lived, who had followed their banner, paid loyal allegiance to their lawful demands; to leave their towns in ruins, their fields uncultivated, or to people their land with strangers; to incur the odious suspicion of aiding the Church in order to profit by the plunder of their vassals, to enrich themselves out of confiscations; and all these hard measures were to be taken perhaps against the friends of youth, against kindred, against men whose blameless lives won respect and admiration.[o]

Peter de Castelnau, the Legate, determined at length on extreme proceedings; the times, he thought, gave him an auspicious occasion. Private wars had broken out, in which Count Raymond and some of the other nobles were engaged. In these wars the property of the Church was not religiously respected; in the sieges of towns their fields and vineyards suffered waste; some of the nobles at war with Raymond alleged as their excuse the hostilities in which they were involved. The Legates peremptorily called on all the belligerent parties to make peace, in order to combine their forces against those worse enemies the heretics. Raymond did not at once obey this imperious dictation. Peter of Castlenau uttered the sen-

Peter de Castelnau.

[n] "Cujus rei culpa forte pro magnâ parte refundi poterat in prælatos, utpote qui saltem latrare potuerant, reprehendere et mordere." Such is the ingenuous confession of a writer on the side of the Church.—Gul. de Pod. Laur. apud Bouquet, xix. p. 199.

[o] Compare the pathetic sentence in the same author: "Quare ergo de terra, dixit episcopus, eos non expellitis et fugatis? At ait ille, non possumus; sumus enim nutriti cum eis, et habemus de nostris consanguineis apud ipsos, et eos honeste vivere contemplamur."—Ibid., p. 200.

tence of excommunication, and placed his whole territory under an interdict. Instead of repressing this bold assumption of power on the part of his Legate, Innocent addressed a letter to Raymond, perhaps unexampled in the furious vehemence of its language. It had no superscription, for it was to a man under sentence of excommunication. No epithet of scorn was spared :—"If with the Prophet (it began) I could break through the wall of thy heart, I would show thee all its abominations." It threatened him with the immediate vengeance of God, with every temporal calamity, with everlasting fire. "Who art thou, that when the illustrious King of Arragon, and the other nobles, at the exhortation of our Legates, have consented to terms of peace, alone looking for advantage in war, like a carrion bird preying on carcases, refusest all treaties?" It charged him with violating his repeated oaths to prosecute all heretics in his dominions, with rejecting the appeal of the Archbishop of Arles in the course of war to spare all monasteries, and to abstain from arms on Sundays and holidays.[p] "Impious, cruel, and direful tyrant, thou art so far gone in heretical pravity, that when reproved for thy defence of heretics, thou saidest that thou wouldest find a bishop of the heretics who would prove his faith to be better than that of the Catholics." It charged him with bestowing offices of trust and honour on Jews; with seizing and fortifying churches. Innocent ended with the menace of depriving him of his territory, which he declared that he held of the Church of Rome;[q] of arraying all the neighbouring princes against him as an enemy of Christ, and a persecutor of the Church; and of offering his realm as a prize to the conqueror who might subdue it, in order that it might escape the disgrace of being ruled by a heretic.[r]

The denunciation of the victim was immediately fol-

[p] It might be inquired whether these provisions were afterwards enforced on the Crusaders.

[q] "Terram quam noscis ab Ecclesiâ Romanâ tenere, tibi faciemus auferri."

[r] "Telle est cette lettre fulminante du Pape Innocent III. à Raymond VI., Comte de Toulouse, dont le principal motif est le refus que ce Prince avait fait de conclure la paix avec ses vassaux du Marquisat de Provence, avec lesquels il étoit en guerre, afin de joindre ses armes aux leurs pour exterminer les hérétiques."—Vaissette, iii. 151. Innocent. Epist. x. 61. May 29, 1207.

lowed by the summons to the executioner. A Papal letter was addressed to the King, to all the counts, barons, nobles, and to all faithful Christians in France; to the Counts of Vermandois and Blois, the Count of Bar, the Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, commanding them to take up arms for the suppression of the heretics in the South of France. Their own territories in the mean time were placed under the protection of St. Peter and the Pope; all who dared to violate them were exposed to ecclesiastical censure.[s] All the estates and the goods of the heretics were to be confiscated and divided among those who should engage in this holy enterprise, and the same indulgences granted as for a Crusade in the Holy Land, so soon as war should be declared against Raymond of Toulouse, the disobedient vassal of the Church, the protector and abetter of heretics. Letter of Innocent. Nov. 17, 1207.

In the mean time Peter of Castlenau was not inactive; he secretly stirred up the lords of Languedoc against Raymond. Raymond made peace, and thereby fondly supposed himself delivered from the excommunication. But the inexorable Peter stood before him, reproached him to his face with cowardice, accused him of perjury, and of abetting heresy. He renewed the excommunication in all its plenitude.

Conceive, at this instant, a Pontiff like Innocent, with all his lofty notions of the sanctity, the inviolability of every ecclesiastic, confirmed by the consciousness of his yet irresistible power, receiving the intelligence of the barbarous murder of his Legate; another Becket fallen before a meaner sovereign; the sacred person of his Legate transfixed by the lance of an assassin.[t] That the terror and hatred of the clergy in Languedoc should instantly and obstinately ascribe the crime to Raymond himself, that Innocent in his eager indignation Murder of Peter de Castelnau.

[s] Epist. x. 149.

[t] "Quand le Pape sut, quand lui fut dite la nouvelle, que son légat avait été tué, sachez qu'elle lui fut dure; de la colère qu'il en eût, il se tint la machoire, et se mit a prier Saint Jacques, celui de Compostella, et Saint Pierre, qui est enséveli dans la Chapelle de Rome. Quand il eut fait son oraison, il éteignit le cierge, 15 Jan. 1208."—Apud Fauriel, p. 9.

should adopt their version of the death of Peter, excites no wonder. Their report publicly countenanced by the Pope was this, that the Legates had been invited to a conference at St. Gilles, that the Count had sternly refused to ratify the satisfaction which he had promised, that he had uttered dark menaces against the Legates. The Legates had passed the night under an armed guard on the shores of the Rhône, in the morning, when they were crossing the river, Peter of Castelnau was transfixed with a lance by one of the emissaries of Count Raymond He only lived long enough to breathe out, "God pardon them, as I pardon them."[u] Raymond was afterwards charged with having admitted the assassin into his intimate intercourse.

Jan. 15, 1208.

Strong contemporary evidence, as well as all the probabilities of the case, absolutely acquit the Count of Toulouse of any concern in this crime. It may have been done by some rash partisan who thought that he was fulfilling his master's wishes; but one writer states that Raymond was never known to be so moved to anger as by this event. He was not of that passionate temperament which might be hurried into such a deed. He could not but see at once its danger, its impolicy, and its uselessness. The enemy of Raymond was not the individual monk, but the whole hierarchy, and the Pope himself; and he must have known too that of his own partisans all the superstitious, all the timid, all the religious would be estranged by an awful crime perpetrated on the sacred person of a legate of the Pope.[x]

The dying prayer of the Legate may have been accepted in heaven; on earth it received barren admiration, but touched no heart with mercy.

Innocent at once assumed the guilt of Raymond. He

[u] Innocent, Epist. xi. 26. The Troubadour says, "Un des écuyers (du Comte) qui en avait grande rancune, et voulait se rendre desormais agréable à son Seigneur tua le Legat en trahison." "He fled to Beaucaire, where his relations lived."—p. 9.

[x] Raymond, according to the Hist. des Albigeois, would have punished the assassin (he had fled to Beaucaire), if he could have caught him, to the satisfaction of the Legates. "Le dit Comte Raimond étoit si courroucé et fâché de ce meurtre, comme ayant été fait par un homme à lui, que jamais il ne fut si courroucé de chose au monde."—Hist. de la Guerre des Albigeois; Guizot, Coll. des Mémoires, xv. 4. All modern writers, D. Vaissette, Capefigue, Hahn, even Hurter more doubtfully, exculpate Raymond.

proclaimed it in letters to the Archbishops of Narbonne, Arles, Embrun, Aix, Vienne, and their suffragans; to the Archbishop of Lyons and his suffragans. Every Sunday and every holy day was to be published the excommunication of Raymond of Toulouse the murderer, and all his accomplices: no faith was to be kept with those who had kept no faith;[y] all his subjects were absolved from their oath of allegiance: every one was at liberty to assault his person, and (only reserving the right of his suzerain the King of France), to seize and take possession of his lands, especially for the holy purpose of purging them of heresy. The only terms on which Raymond could be admitted to repentance were the previous absolute expulsion of all heretics from his dominions.

Innocent condemns Count Raymond.

But the blood of the martyr[z] (as he at once became) called for more active vengeance. Innocent seized the instant of indignation at this almost unprecedented and terrible crime, to awaken the tardy zeal, to inflame the ambition and rapacity of those, who at the same time might win to themselves, by the favour of the Church, a place in heaven and a goodly inheritance upon earth. "Up," he writes to Philip Augustus of France; "up, soldiers of Christ! Up most Christian king! Hear the cry of blood; aid us in wreaking vengeance on these malefactors." With strange perverted quotations from the sacred Scriptures, he makes Moses and St. Peter, the Fathers, as he calls them, of the Old and New Testaments, predict this amicable union of the royal and sacerdotal powers, and the two swords (one of which his gentle master afterwards commanded the rash disciple to put away) authorise the united Crusade of the kingdom of France and the Church of Rome against the inhabitants of Languedoc. "Up," in the same tone, cried the Pope to all the adventurous nobles and knights of

Crusade.

[y] "Cum juxta sanctorum patrum canonicas sanctiones, qui Deo fidem non servat, fides servanda non est."—Epist. Innocent, xi. 26.

[z] Peter of Castelnau's body *would have* wrought wonderful miracles, but for the obstinate incredulity of the people. "Claris jam, ut credimus, miraculis coruscasset, nisi hoc illorum incredulitas impediret." And the passage of St. Luke is adduced without hesitation.

France, and offered to their valour the rich and sunny lands of the South.[a]

The Crusade was thus not merely an outburst of religious zeal, it took into close alliance strong motives of political ambition, perhaps the hostility of rival races. Philip Augustus, who had almost expelled the King of England from the continent, aspired to raise the feudal sovereignty of the crown over the great fiefs of the South to actual dominion. Instead of an almost independent prince, the Count of Toulouse, with his princely nobles, must become an obedient vassal and subject. The French of the North up to this period had vainly endeavoured to extend their rule over the Gallo-Roman, or Gothic Roman population of the South. The language divided and defined the two yet unmingled races. A religious Crusade was a glorious opportunity to break the power of these rival sovereigns rather than dependent vassals. Throughout the war the Crusaders are described as the Franks, as a foreign nation invading a separate territory. While there was little of the sympathy of kindred or of order to prevent the princes and nobles of Northern France from wreaking the vengeance of the Church upon the rebellious Princes of Languedoc, the great warlike prelates of France were bound by a still stronger tie to the endangered cause of their brother prelates of the South. There had been quite enough of heresy threatening the peace of almost every diocese of France to awaken their jealous vigilance. The less they possessed the virtues of churchmen the more fierce their warlike zeal for the Church. So in the first ranks of the Crusade appear the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen. The wealth and prosperity of the Southern provinces, the hope of plunder, was of itself sufficient incentive to the baser adventurers; to the nobler there was the

[a] "Attende per Moisem et Petrum, patres videlicet utriusque Testamenti, signatam inter regnum et sacerdotium unitatem, cum alter regnum sacerdotale prædixit et reliquus regale sacerdotium appellavit; ad quod signandum Rex Regum et Dominus dominantium Jesus Christus, secundum ordinem Melchisedek sacerdotis et regis, de utraque voluit stirpe nasci, sacerdotali videlicet et regali. Et princeps Apostolorum, '*Ecce gladii duo hic*,' id est simul, dicenti Domino, '*satis est*,' legitur respondisse, et materiali et spirituali gladiis sibi invicem assistentibus, alter per alterum adjuvetur." — Epist. ibid. And the world heard with awe this sanguinary and impious nonsense!

chivalrous passion for war and enterprise; while the easier mode of obtaining pardon for sins, without the long, and toilsome, and perilous and costly journey to the Holy Land, brought the superstitious of all ranks in throngs under the consecrated banners. The clergy everywhere preached with indefatigable activity this new way of attaining everlasting life; the Cistercian convents threw open their gates, the land was covered with monks haranguing on the same stirring topic. From all parts of France they assembled in countless numbers at Lyons; a second not less formidable host was gathering in the West; the number is stated at 500,000, 300,000, at least 50,000 men of arms.[b]

Raymond, as he well might, stood aghast; he had done all in his power to obtain peace from Rome. He rejected the gallant proposal of his nephew the Viscount of Beaucaire, to summon their vassals and kindred, garrison their castles, and stand boldly on their defence.[c] He sent an embassy to Rome, the Archbishop of Auch, the Abbot of Condom, de Rabenstein the ex-Bishop of Toulouse, the Prior of the Hospitallers (he had yet some ecclesiastics on his side, hated with proportionate intensity by his enemies).[d] The demands of Innocent were hard, and those, it is said with something of old Troubadour malice, gained by many presents;[e] the surrender of seven of his chief castles as guarantees for the Count's submission.

Conduct of Raymond.

A new Legate had been named, Milo the Notary of the Papal Court, a man of milder views, of whom Raymond, under the fond delusion of hope, said that he was a Legate after his own heart. But this was only craft on the part of the Pope; it was not yet his object to drive

[b] "Il s'y croisa tant de gens que personne ne les saurait nombrer ni estimer, et elle a cause des grands pardons et des absolutions, que le Legat avait donnés a tous ceux qui se croiseroient pour aller contre les hérétiques."—Hist. de la Guerre, Guizot, xv. 5. "Cependant aussi loin que s'étend la sainte Chrétienté, en France et en tous les autres royaumes . . . les peuples se croisent, dès qu'ils apprennent le pardon de leurs pêchés, et jamais je pense, ne fut fait si grand host, que celui fait alors contre les hérétiques."—Fauriel, p. 15. Petr. V. C. adds that to obtain the indulgence they were to be "contriti et confessi."

[c] Histoire des Guerres.

[d] "Execrabiles et malignos Archepiscopum Auxitanum," &c.—Petr. V. C. c. ix.

[e] "Ils disent si bonnes paroles et font tant de présents."—p. 19.

Count Raymond, before his great vassals were subdued, to desperation. Milo was accompanied by Theodisc, a canon of Genoa, of less yielding character; and no measure was to be taken without the approbation of Arnold, the stern Cistercian Abbot.[f] The Bishop of Conferans was added to the legatine commission. Milo was enjoined to use all wise dissimulation; every thing was to be done to lull and delude Count Raymond.[g] The Legates appeared in Languedoc; it was of no auspicious omen that they had first visited France.[h]

From religious awe, from conscious inability to resist, perhaps from some generous hope of obtaining gentler terms for his devoted subjects, Raymond of Toulouse submitted at once in the amplest manner to the demands of his inexorable enemies, to the personal abasement inflicted by the Church. The scene of his humiliation may not be passed over. At a Council at Montelimart he was cited to appear before the Legates at Valence. There he first surrendered, as security for his absolute submission, his seven strong castles—Oppede, Montferrand, Balmas, Mornac, Roquemaure, Fourgues, Faujaux.[i] He was then led, naked to the girdle, to the porch of the abbey church, and in the presence of the Legates, and not less than twenty bishops, before the holy Eucharist, before certain reliques, and the wood of the true cross, with his hand upon the holy Gospels, he acknowledged the justice of his excommunication, and swore full allegiance to the Pope and to his Legate. He swore to give ample satisfaction, according to the Pope's orders, on all the charges made against him, now recapitulated with terrible exactness—his refusal to make peace, his protection of heretics, his violations of ecclesiastical property. If he did not fulfil his oath his seven castles were

Penance of Raymond. June 18, 1209.

[f] The Pope says expressly to Milo: "Abbas Cistercii totum faciet, et tu organum ejus eris: Comes enim Tolosanus *eum habet suspectum; tu non eris ei suspectus.*"

[g] Epist. xi. 232. "Cum talis dolus prudentia sit dicendus." Such are Innocent's own damning words. The whole letter is in the same tone.

[h] Raymond had endeavoured to obtain the protection of Philip Augustus, his liege lord for Languedoc; of the Emperor Otho, of whom he held the Marquisate of Provence. The King and Emperor were at war (Philip therefore did not join the Crusade); each refused to interpose, unless on condition of breaking with his enemy.

[i] See in Vaissette, p. 162, the situation and strength of these castles.

at once escheated to the Church of Rome: the county of Melgueil, which he held of the Church of Rome, reverted to its liege lord: himself fell under excommunication, his lands under interdict; his compurgators, the Consuls of the towns in his dominions, were absolved from their allegiance, that allegiance passed to the Church of Rome. He swore further to respect the rights of all the churches in the provinces of Narbonne, Arles, Vienne, Auch, Bourdeaux, Bourges. The Consuls of Avignon, Nismes, and St. Gilles took their compurgatorial oath to his fulfilment of all these stipulations; the governors of the seven castles not to restore them to the Count of Toulouse without the consent of the Pope. These ceremonies ended, the Count, with a rope round his neck, and scourged, as he went, on his naked shoulders, was led up to the high altar: there after a solemn recapitulation of the Pope's commands before it, and a reiteration of the same commands after it, he received the absolution.[k] But his humiliation was not complete; by a well-contrived accident, the crowd was so great that they were obliged to lead him close by the tomb of the murdered Peter of Castlenau; naked, bleeding, broken-spirited, he was forced to show his profound respect to that spot.[m]

Raymond joins the Crusade.

But he has not yet drunk the dregs of humiliation: new difficulties arise; new demands are made: the Count himself must take up the cross against his own loyal subjects; he must appear at the head, he must actually seem to direct the operations of the invading army. Two only of his knights follow his example. His deadly enemy assigns one nobler motive for this act, that he might avert the Crusade from his own subjects, another (the vulgar suggestion of hatred) hypocrisy.[n] He did not leave the army till after the fall of Carcassonne.

The war was inevitable; not even the Pope could now have arrested it; and the Pope himself is self-convicted of

[k] Petr. V. G. c. 12.

[m] "O justum Dei judicium! quem enim contempserat vivum, ei reverentiam compulsus est exhibere et defuncto."—Petr. V. C. apud Bouquet, xix. 80.

[n] "Ut sic terram suam a cruce signatorum infestatione tueretur . . . O falsum et perfidissimum crucesignatum! Comitem Tolosanum dico, qui crucem assumpsit, non ad vindicandam injuriam crucifixi, sed ut ad tempus celare possit suam et tegere pravitatem."—Ibid.

the most cunning dissimulation. This vast army must have its reward in plunder and massacre.[o] The subtle distinction is at hand, it is not waged against the Count of Toulouse, against the Count of Languedoc, but against the heretics.

Never in the history of man were the great eternal principles of justice, the faith of treaties, common humanity so trampled under foot as in the Albigensian war. Never was war waged in which ambition, the consciousness of strength, rapacity, implacable hatred, and pitiless cruelty played a greater part. And throughout the war it cannot be disguised that it was not merely the army of the Church, but the Church itself in arms. Papal legates and the greatest prelates headed the host, and mingled in all the horrors of the battle and the siege. In no instance did they interfere to arrest the massacre, in some cases urged it on. "Slay all, God will know his own," was the boasted saying of Abbot Arnold, Legate of the Pope, before Beziers. Arnold was the captain-general of the army.[p] Hardly one of the great prelates of France stood aloof. With the first army were, at the head of their troops, the Archbishops of Rheims, Sens, Rouen; their suffragans of Autun, Clermont, Nevers, Bayeux, Lisieux, Chartres. The Western host was led by the Archbishop of Bourdeaux, the Bishops of Limoges, Basas, Cahors, Agen. A third force moved under the Bishop of Puy. The great engineer was the Archdeacon of Paris. Fulk Bishop of Toulouse has been described as the ecclesiastical De Montfort of the Crusade.[q] We have the melancholy advantage of hearing the actual voice of one of the churchmen, who joined the army at an early period; and whose language may be taken as the expression of the concentred hatred and bigotry, which was the soul of the

[o] "Man wollte," writes Hurter, who would apologise for the Crusade, "so grosse Rüstungen nicht vergeblich unternommen haben!" The army of the faith (the faith of Jesus Christ!) must not disperse without blood and plunder!

[p] Vaissette.

[q] Fulk had now altogether forgotten all the favours of Raymond, of the kings of Castile and Arragon. "Il ne vit dans Raymond VI., et dans Pierre II., roi d'Arragon, leur fils, que des princes qui se refusaient à l'extermination des hérétiques, que des rebelles, qui ne se soumettaient pas implicitement à la domination du clergé, et il devînt le plus acharné de leurs ennemis."—Hist. Litér. xix. p. 596.

enterprise: the Historian Peter, Monk of Vaux Cernay, attendant on his uncle, the Abbot of that monastery. He is the boastful witness to all its unexampled cruelties. Monkish fanaticism could not speak more naturally, more forcibly. With him all wickedness is centred in heresy. The heretic is a beast of prey to be slain wherever he may be found.[r] And if there might be some palliation for the clergy of Languedoc, who had been neglected, treated with contumely, perhaps with insult, had seen their churches not only deserted, perhaps sacrilegiously violated, the Monk of Vaux Cernay was a stranger to that part of France.[s]

The army which moved from Lyons along the Rhône came from every province of France. Its numbers were never known. The Troubadour declares that God never made the clerk who could have written the muster-roll in two months, or even in three. He reckons twenty thousand knights, two hundred thousand common soldiers, not reckoning the townsmen and the clerks.[t] The chief secular leaders were Eudes Duke of Burgundy, Hervé Count of Nevers, the Count of St. Pol, and Simon de Montfort Count of Leicester. The army advanced along the Rhône, joined as it proceeded by the vast contingents of the Archbishop of Bourdeaux and the Bishop of Puy. At Montpellier they were met by the young and gallant Viscount of Beziers,[u] who having urged his uncle Count Raymond to resistance; now endeavoured to avert the

Advance of Crusade.

[r] *e. g.* "Les Notres passèrent au fil d'épée ceux qu'ils purent trouver, mettant tout à feu et à sang. Pour quoi soit en toutes choses beni le Seigneur qui nous livre quelques impies, bien que non pas tous!"—Coll. des Mémoires, p. 303.

[s] Peter (who dedicates his work to Innocent III.) seems to have been as ignorant, as cruel and fanatic. His notions of the opinions of the heretics are a strange wild jumble. They were not only Manicheans, denying the Old Testament, and Docetæ: they held the most horrible doctrines concerning John the Baptist, "one of the worst of devils;" and our Lord himself, who was spiritually in the person of Paul. (Is this Paulicianism?) The Good God had two wives, Collent and Collebent, by whom he had sons and daughters. Another sect said "God had two sons, Christ and the Devil." Peter's history is in Bouquet, t. xix., and in M. Guizot's Collection of Mémoires. t. xv.

[t] "Dieu ne fit jamais latiniste ou clerc si lettré — qui (de tout cela) pût raconter la moitié ni le tiers [of their crosses, banners, and barded horses] ou écrire les noms des (seuls) prêtres et abbés." The Archbishop of Bourges was alone prevented from serving by death.—Fauriel, 15.

[u] According to the Troubadour, the Viscount was "bon Catholique; je vous donne pour garanti maint clerc et maint chanoine (mangeant) en réfectoire."—p. 27.

storm from his two cities, Beziers and Carcassonne. But his ruin was determined. The army appeared before Beziers, which in the strength of its walls, and the courage of its inhabitants[x] (the Catholics made common cause with the rest) ventured on bold defiance.[y] The Bishop Reginald of Montpellier demanded the surrender of all whom he might designate as heretics. On their refusal of these terms, the city was stormed.[z] A general massacre followed; neither age nor sex were spared; even priests fell in the remorseless carnage. Then was uttered the frightful command, become almost a proverb, "Slay them all, God will know his own." In the church of St. Mary Magdalene were killed seven thousand by the defenders of the sanctity of the Church. The account of the slain is variously estimated from twenty thousand even up to fifty thousand. The city was set on fire, even the Cathedral perished in the flames.[a]

Siege of Beziers. July 22, 1209.

The next was Carcassonne. The Viscount of Beziers, in his despair, had thrown himself into the city with a strong body of troops. The monk relates with special indignation that these worst of heretics and infidels destroyed the refectory and the cellars of the Canons of Carcassonne, and even (more execrable!) the stalls of their church to strengthen their defences. Pedro King of Arragon appeared as mediator in the camp of the Crusaders. Carcassonne was held as a fief of the King. He pleaded the youth of the Viscount; asserted his Catholic belief, his aversion to heresy: it was not his fault if his

Of Carcassonne.

[x] "Der Legat ergrimmte ob solcher Hartnäcktigkeit, wohl an denn rief er, so soll auch kein Stein auf dem andern, kein leben geschont werden."—Hurter, p. 309.

[y] "Fortis enim et nimium locuples, populosaque valde—urbs erat, armatisque viris et milite multo—freta."—Gul. Brito.

[z] The Troubadour relates a singular circumstance: the first attack was made by the "Roi des Ribauds," with 15,000 truands, in shirts and breeches, but without chaussures. They climbed the walls, and swarmed in the trenches. They got all the plunder, which they were obliged to give up to the Barons.—p. 35. Was this wild rout a common part of a crusading army?—See the Geste of Jerusalem, where the Roi des Ribauds plays the same part in the taking of Antioch and Jerusalem.—Hist. Lit. de la France, t. xxii. p. 363-377.

[a] "O justissima divinæ dispensationis mensura! Fuit enim capta civitas sæpe dicta in festo S. Mariæ Magdalenæ." The monk howls out his delight at this judgment of God on account of a tenet, which he absurdly ascribes to the heretics, "S. Mariam Magdalenam fuisse concubinam Christi." The Viscount of Beziers had left the town (probably to defend Carcassonne); as did the Jews: "Les Juifs l'ont suivi de près." The Jews had no vocation to wait and be massacred.

subjects had fallen away: he was ready to submit to the Legate. The only terms they would offer were, that he might retire with twelve knights; the city must surrender at discretion. The proud and gallant youth declared that nothing should induce him (he had rather be flayed alive) to desert the least of his subjects.[b] The first assaults, though on one occasion the bishops and abbots and all the clergy went forth chanting "Veni Creator Spiritus,"[c] on another were lavish in their promises of absolution,[d] ended in failure.

Carcassonne, if equal care had been taken to provision as to fortify the city, might have resisted for a year that disorderly host. But multitudes from all quarters had found refuge within its walls. The wells began to fail; infectious diseases broke out. Ere eight days the Viscount accepted a free conduct from an officer of the Legate: he hoped to obtain moderate terms for his subjects. Most of the troops made their escape by subterranean passages, and the defenceless city came into the power of the Crusaders.[e] The people were allowed to leave the town, but almost naked;[f] they were pillaged to the utmost. But the Legate would not allow his soldiers, under pain of excommunication, to share the plunder. It was to be reserved for a powerful baron, who was to rule the land and extirpate the heretics for ever. The Viscount had given himself up as a hostage;[g] he was treated as a prisoner, cast into a dungeon, where he died in a few months, not without suspicion of poison administered by Simon de Montfort. But a broken spirit and foul dungeon air may relieve Simon

August 15.

Death of Viscount Beziers. Nov. 10, 1209.

[b] "Cela (dit alors le roi entre ses dents) se fera tout aussitôt qu'un âne volera dans le ciel."—Fauriel, p. 51.

[c] Peter V. C. xvi.

[d] "Les évêques, les prieurs, les moines, et les abbés . . . s'en vont criant, vite au pardon (croisés) que faisez vous?"—Fauriel, 51.

[e] The modern historians of this war have wrought up a Walter Scott scene of treachery, on slender foundations.—Barron et Darragon, Croisades contre les Albigeois.

[f] "Egressi sunt ergo omnes nudi de civitate, nihil secum præter *peccatum* portantes." Peter V. C.—"on ne leur avait pas laissé en sus (chose) qui valût un bouton."—Fauriel, p. 55.

[g] "Et chose grandement folle, fit-il, a mon avis." This historian paints the treachery of the Legate very darkly. Vaissette says that he was seized during a conference. I have followed the account least unfavourable to the perfidious Legate-Abbot.

from a charge always asserted, rarely to be proved or disproved. He died at the age of twenty-four.[h]

The law of conquest was now to be put in force. The lands of a heretic were as the lands of a Saracen. The question was to which of the orthodox army should be assigned the first fruits of the victory. The French nobles, the Dukes of Burgundy, the Counts of Nevers and St. Pol, with disdainful indignation refused the reward of a mercenary. They had land enough of their own; nor would they set the perilous example of setting up the fiefs of France to the hazard of the sword. The zeal of Simon de Montfort was not so noble nor so disinterested.[i] He was invested, on the Pope's authority, with all the lands conquered or to be conquered during the Crusade. This was of fearful omen to Raymond of Toulouse. Only a sovereign of the whole land, of unimpeachable devotion to the Holy See, of indefatigable activity, dauntless courage, inflexible resolution, an iron heart, could subdue the realm to ecclesiastical obedience.

The submission of Raymond had been complete; it might be suspected of insincerity, it assuredly was compulsory; yet he had accepted the hard terms, had surrendered his castles, had undergone the basest personal humiliation.[k] The Pope had even expressed his approbation, and welcomed him back into the bosom of the Church. Up to the taking of Carcassonne, it might be with a bleeding heart, he had remained in the Crusader's army. He had even attempted to conciliate Simon de Montfort, by the demand of De Montfort's daughter in marriage for his son.

But Raymond had been too deeply injured to be forgiven; and nothing less than the whole South could fully repay the zeal and valour of the Crusaders. The

[h] Innocent's letter has *miserabiliter interfectus*. This was the accusation of the King of Arragon.

[i] Peter ascribes to him a show of repugnance. The historian briefly says that Simon, "qui le désirait, le prit."

[k] Epist. xii. 90. The monk relates this story:—Two heretics were condemned to be burned. One offered to recant. A great altercation arose whether he was to be spared. The count decided that he should be burned. "If he is a true convert, the fire will be an expiation for his sins. If not, it will be a just penalty for his sins." The man was saved by something like a miracle.—c. xxii. Can this be true?

treachery of the Count rests on suspicion; that of the Legate, and it must be sadly confessed, of the Pope himself, on his own words. Treachery was his deliberate, avowed design. Innocent had enjoined, and now only followed out his policy of deceiving Count Raymond by feigned reconciliation, so to separate him from the rest of the Languedocian nobles, and to destroy them, one by one, with the greater ease. And to justify this, the Vicar of Christ abuses the words of an Apostle of Christ.[m]

The Legates were apt disciples of their master. It was easy to demand impossible things, to assume the breach of the stipulations on which the Count had received absolution, and to claim the forfeiture. The Legates seem to have dreaded the influence of Raymond's agents at Rome; they suspected even the Pope of weak lenity. The Count had boasted that the Emperor Otho, and even the King of France, had interceded in his behalf. Instead, therefore, of immediately renewing the excommunication and the interdict on account of fifteen articles, on which they charged him with not having fulfilled his promises, they allowed him a certain time to give full satisfaction. The seven castles they significantly hinted, of which he prayed the restitution, were strong enough to resist any attack, and had already escheated to the See of Rome.[n]

Continued persecution of Raymond.

Raymond had hardly returned to Toulouse, when an embassy arrived from the Legate Arnold and Simon de Montfort, demanding the instant surrender of all heretics and all abettors of heresy within his dominions to the ecclesiastical power, and of all their property to be at the disposal of the Crusaders. In vain it was pleaded by some of the designated fautors of heresy that they were of orthodox belief, and had been already reconciled to the

[m] "Quia vero a nobis sollicite est requisitum, qualiter procedendum sit circa comitatum eundem fideli exercitui (cruce) signatorum, quatenus ad apostoli dicentis, '*Cum essem astutus, dolo vos cepi*,' magisterium recurrentes, cum talis dolus prudentia potius sit dicendus, cum eorundem signatorum prudentioribus opportuno consilio, divisos ab ecclesiæ unitate divisum capere studentes, dummodo videritis quod ex hoc idem comes vel aliis minus assistere, vel per se ipsum minus debeat insanire, non statim incipientes ab ipso, sed eo primitus *arte prudentis dissimulationis eluso*, ad extirpandos alios hæreticos transeatis."—Epist. 232.

[n] Compare the two letters of Milo, the Legate, to the Pope.—xii. 106, 107.

Church by the Legate himself. In vain Count Raymond declared that he appealed to the Pope. At Valence the excommunication was again hurled against his person, the interdict laid on his dominions. Raymond seized the desperate measure of going himself to Rome, and throwing himself on the justice, he might fondly hope the mercy, of the Pope. Innocent, in the mean time, had committed himself to a triumphant approbation of all the exploits of the Crusaders; he had invested Simon de Montfort in the conquered territories, and exhorted him, for the remission of his sins, as he had extirpated, so to keep his new realm free from the contagion of heresy.[o] Simon de Montfort is his beloved son, the acknowledged hero of the Holy War.[p]

Sept. 1209.

Raymond visited the Court of France before he went to Rome. His reception by the Pope was not promising. The Pope, by one account, heaped on him so many reproaches as almost to reduce him to despair.[q] According to others, he was received with courtesy by the Pope and by the Cardinals. Innocent spoke with fairness on the restitution of the seven castles: it did not become the Church of Rome to enrich itself with such spoils. The right of the Count was by no means annulled by the cession. The Pope condescended to hear the confession of Count Raymond; showed him the Veronica, and allowed him to touch the holy face of the Lord; he gave him absolution; bestowed on him a costly mantle and a precious ring from his own fingers. The harshness would perhaps be hardly less Papal than these specious courtesies. From Innocent's words and acts, these outward honours were cautiously, jealously, if not deceptively bestowed. Notwithstanding the absolution, Count Raymond was to

Raymond in Rome.

[o] "In remissionem tibi peccaminum injungentes quatenus attendendo prudenter quod non minor est virtus quam quærere, parta tueri."—Epist. xii. 123.

[p] The Pope wrote to the Archbishops of Arles, Besançon, Vienne, Aix, Narbonne, Lyons, and others, to compel by ecclesiastical censures all who had lent money to the Crusaders, especially the Jews—there must have been more than censures against the Jews—not to exact interest (it passed under the odious name of usury) for their loans.—xii. 136.

[q] "Quem Dominus Papam tot conviciis lacessivit, contumeliis tot confudit, quod quasi in desperatione positus, quid ageret, ignorabat. Ipsum siquidem dicebat incredulum, crucis persecutorem, fidei inimicum, et vere sic erat."—Petr. V. C. c. 33. The monk may have given to the Pope some of his own bitter passion. The historian says Raymond was received with honour.

appear in three months before a council to be assembled by the Legates, to purge himself from all charge of countenancing heretics, and all concern in the murder of Peter of Castelnau. What may be called the secret instructions to the Legate (Milo was dead), to the Abbot Arnold, recommended him to consult on all points the Canon Theodisc, who was alone in possession of his real sentiments. But Theodisc was to act only under the orders of Arnold, to be his instrument of deception, under the bait of feigned gentleness, to conceal the iron hook of severity, and so delude again the devoted Count.[r] It was Innocent's object not to goad him to despair. Raymond must not be driven to head the strong reaction which had already begun against the usurpation and tyranny of De Montfort.[s]

The success of the Crusade had been beyond expectation: the two strong cities, Beziers and Carcassonne, had fallen in little more than two months. From the panic, and from force, five hundred castles and towns had surrendered or yielded after a short siege.[t] The Count of Toulouse, the King of Arragon, had issued decrees against the heretics. The Count of Foix (De Montfort had entered Castres), with Albi, Pamiers, Mirepois, offered terms. Simon de Montfort had now a kingdom. But on the approach of winter, far the larger part of the French barons, bishops, and knights returned home; De Montfort remained with the few troops whom he could afford to pay. The Pope, indeed, commanded the archbishops to give up to Simon, for the maintenance of his army, large sums which the heretics, or those accused of heresy, had deposited in their hands for safe custody. But many towns had already raised the standard of revolt; the King of Arragon resolutely refused his homage for the parts of the

Progress of Crusade.

[r] "In hamo sagacitatis tuæ positus quasi esca, ut per eam piscem capias fluctuantem, cui tanquam saluberrimam tuæ piscatationis abhorrenti doctrinam quodam prudenti mansuetudinis artificio severitatis ferrum necessarium est abscondi." And Innocent again makes his favourite quotation: "Cum essem astutus dolo vos cepi."

[s] "Veruntamen cogitans Dominus Papa, ne in desperationem versus ecclesiam, quæ in Narbonensi provincia erat, impugnaret acrius et manifestius dictus comes, indixit ei." He orders him to clear himself of the crime of heresy, and that of the murder.—Petr. V. C. c. 33.

[t] "Captisque fere quingentis tum castellis, quæ per possessos suos diabolus habitabat."—Petr. V. C.

territory which were his fiefs. But with the spring new crusaders crowded around De Montfort's banner, the Bishops of Chartres and Beauvais. Many towns and castles, Alyonne, Bram, Alairac, Ventalon, Montreal, Constassa, Puyvert, Castres, Lomberes, fell. Minerve, a fortress of great strength at the border of the Cevennes, on a high rock girded by deep ravines, made a long and vigorous resistance. Provisions failed; the lord of the castle proposed to surrender. Now appeared the darkening atrocity of the war.[u] Even De Montfort would have accepted the capitulation; but the fiercer Cistercian Abbot, unwilling that the enemies of God should escape, sought even fraudulent means of baffling or eluding the treaty. De Montfort left it to the decision of the Abbot, who as a churchman could not openly urge the rejection of pacific terms.[x] Arnold decided that of the heretics all *believers* who should absolutely submit to the mandates of the Church, should have their lives spared: even the Perfect, of whom there were multitudes, might escape if they would recant. A fierce knight, Robert de Molesme, the agent of De Montfort with the Pope, protested against this ill-timed leniency. "Fear not," said the Abbot, "few will there be whose lives will be spared." Minerve surrendered. The cross was placed on the keep of the castle. The banner of De Montfort waved below it. Arnold was right.[y] The Abbot of Vaux Cernay preached in vain to the heretics; the women were more obstinate than the

Siege of Minerve. A.D. 1210.

[u] According to the monk of Vaux Cernay, Gerald de Pepieux had betrayed Simon de Montfort; he was a cruel enemy of the faith, and had barbarously mutilated some of his soldiers.—c. 27. Mutilation became a common practice. The monk, of course, lays the blame of commencing it on the heretics, for Simon was the gentlest (mitissimus) of mankind.—c. 34. Montfort, in fact, had put to the sword the garrisons of several castles belonging to Pepieux. The whole garrison of Montlaur was hanged. A hundred of that of Bram had their eyes put out; one eye was left to the captain, in order to conduct his soldiers to Cabaret.—Vaissette, iii. p. 191. A priest, who had revolted from De Montfort, was taken to Carcassonne, degraded, dragged at the tail of a horse through the town, then hanged.

[x] Histoire de la Guerre, Petr. V. C. I quote the French; "A ces paroles l'Abbé fut grandement marri pour le désir qu'il avait que les ennemis du Christ fussent mis à mort, et n'osant cependant les y condamner vu qu'il était moine et prêtre."—In Collection des Mémoires.

[y] Petr. V. S. c. 36, 37. Miracles followed the capture of Minerve, "et ils brûlaient maint félon d'hérétique (fils) de pute chienne, et mainte folle mécreante, qui brait dans le feu." Such is the brief merciless account of the Troubadour, p. 79. Compare the Histoire, c. xviii.

men. A hundred and forty of the Perfect spared their persecutors the trouble of casting them on the vast pile; they rushed headlong of their own accord into the flames. July 23.

The castle of Termes was of still greater strength, it might defy with a prudent and resolute commander (an obstinate heretic) any attack. The siege lasted four months; the Bishops of Beauvais and Chartres, as well as the Count Robert and the Count of Poitheu, retired in despair.[z] The great engineer, the Archdeacon of Paris, adhered to the army to the last. The garrison broke away at length through subterranean passages. The Governor was taken, and shut up in a dungeon for life; the town given up to plunder; the heretics burned; their shrieks were mocked by their persecutors.[a] Of Termes. Nov. 23, 1210.

The Count of Toulouse now urged the fulfilment of the Pope's decree. He offered to appear before a Council to justify himself concerning the charges on which he was arraigned. But the crafty churchmen, the Genoese Canon Theodisc (the depositor of the Pope's secret views), and the Abbot Arnold (with whom was now joined the Bishop of Riez) had other intentions. They contrived delays; they made demands, and insisted that such demands should be rigidly accomplished before they would admit him to compurgation.[b] A council was at length held at St. Gilles. When the Count found his adversaries so utterly implacable, he was moved, it is said, to tears. The stony-hearted churchman scoffed in Scriptural language at his hypocritical weeping.[c] He left St. Sept. 1210. New demands on Count Raymond.

[z] The French knights were so disposed to gain the advantages of Indulgences on the easiest terms, that the Legate was obliged to order that no one should receive an Indulgence without forty days' service.—Petr. V. C. c. 43.

[a] In this fearful civil war the Bishop of Carcassonne was among the Crusaders. His brother, William of Rochfort, as the monk says, one of the worst and most cruel enemies of the Church, was with Raymond, who commanded in Termes.

[b] "Cum intrâsset magister Theodiscus Tholosam, habuit secretum colloquium cum Abbate Cisterciensi super admittendâ purgatione Comitis Tholosani. Magister vero Theodiscus, utpote circumspectus et providus, ad hoc omnimodis aspirabat, ut possit de jure repellere ab indicandâ ei purgatione comitem memoratum." They charitably averred "facillime, immo lubentissime, per se et suos complices pejeraret."—c. 39.

[c] "In diluvio aquarum multarum ad Deum non approximatis." So the Vulgate. Our version is, "Surely in the floods of great waters they shall not come nigh him" Ps. xxxii. 6. The canon spake thus: "Sciens quod lacrymæ illæ non erant lacrymæ devotionis et pœnitentiæ sed nequitiæ et doloris—doli?" —Ibid.

Gilles burthened with a new anathema. Another conference at Narbonne was equally without effect, and still another at Montpellier. At length, at a council in Arles, the Legates boldly threw off all concealment of their inflexible hatred. They summoned the Count before their tribunal, and haughtily commanded him not to leave the city without their permission.[d] Their terms were these:

Feb. 1212. I. That Count Raymond should lay down his arms, dismiss his troops, not retaining a single follower. II. That he should be obedient to the Church, pay all the expenses which they might charge on him, and during his whole life submit himself without contradiction. III. In the whole kingdom no one should eat of more than two kinds of meat. IV. That he should expel all heretics and their abettors from his dominions. V. That before the end of the year he should deliver up to the Legate and to Count de Montfort every person whom they might demand, to be dealt with according to their arbitrement. VI. No one in his dominions, either noble or serf, was to wear costly garments, only dark and coarse mantles. VII. He was to raze all fortresses and castles in his dominions. VIII. No one of his men, unless a noble, was to live within any walled town. IX. No taxes to be levied in the land, except the ancient and statutable payments. X. Every head of a family was to pay yearly fourpence to the Legate, to be collected by the Legate's agents. XI. All tithe to be restored to the Church, and all arrears of tithe. XII. When the Legate travelled through the land, he was to be entertained without cost: his meanest follower was not to pay for anything. XIII. When he had executed all these conditions, Count Raymond was to set out on a crusade against the infidel Turks, and not return without permission of the Legate. XIV. All these terms duly fulfilled, his lands would be restored to him by the Legate and the Count de Montfort.[e]

These terms were dictated, it was thought, by the

[d] The Legates were greatly offended that Count Raymond had left Montpellier abruptly, without even the courtesy of taking leave. He had seen an evil omen (says the monk), the St. Mark's bird. "Ipse enim more *Saracenorum* in volatu et cantu avium et cæteris auguriis spem habebat."—Petr. V. C.

[e] Histoire de la Guerre, xx. Vaissette, iii. note xvi. Chroniques apud Bouquet, p. 136.

Count's irreconcileable enemy, the Bishop of Toulouse. The King of Arragon was in Arles. He had been jealously watching the course of events.[f] At Montpellier he had reluctantly received the homage of Simon de Montfort for Carcassonne. At the same time he had strengthened his connection with the House of Toulouse by the marriage of his daughter Sancha with the young Count Raymond. At these extravagant demands, Raymond broke out into bitter laughter. "You are well paid," said the King of Arragon. The ban of excommunication was again pronounced, with more than usual solemnity.

Raymond hastened to Toulouse; he summoned the Council of the city. The Toulousans declared that they would submit to the worst extremity rather than accept such shameful conditions. There was the same enthusiasm throughout his dominions. "They would all die. They would eat their own children ere they would abandon their injured sovereign."[g]

War was now declared, but war on what unequal terms? Here stood De Montfort, the resistless conqueror, the absolute model of a crusading chieftain; of noble birth, Lord of Amauri in France, of Evreux in Normandy, Count of Leicester in England. We have seen De Montfort stand majestically alone in the army before Zara, the one knight loyal to the Pope. Faithful to the cause of the Cross, he was unsurpassed in valour as in military skill; beloved by his army, and not alone from their perfect reliance on his unbroken success; his soldierlike gentleness to the true servants of Christ vied with his remorseless hatred of the unbeliever. Which of these virtues did not secure him the most profound adoration from the hierarchy of which he was the champion? A holy monk of the Abbot Arnold's own Cistercian house was interrupted, it was told, in his prayers for the Count of Leicester by a voice from Heaven: "Why pray for him?

Raymond takes up arms.

[f] Compare the long and striking account of the Troubadour, p. 99.

[g] "Les hommes du pays, chevaliers et bourgeois, quand ils entendirent la charte qui leur fut lue ... dirent qu'ils aimaient mieux être tous tués ou pris, que de souffrir, ou de faire rien au monde (une chose) qui ferait d'eux tous des serfs, des vilains, ou des paysans."—Fauriel, 102.

for him so many pray incessantly, there is no need for thy orisons." And now De Montfort's three ruling passions—religion, ambition, interest, conspired to his grandeur. On the other hand, was the irresolute Count Raymond, only goaded into valour by intolerable fraud and wrong; who without bigotry had betrayed and persecuted the religion of his subjects; debased by the most miserable humiliation; without military skill, with no fame for prowess in battle; mistrusted by all, as mistrusting himself.

Yet the war has in some degree changed its character: it has still all the blackening ferocity of a religious war; but it is also the revolt of a high-spirited nation against a foreign invader; a noble determination to cast off a cruel and usurping tyranny. The Troubadour, the poet of the war, for above three thousand verses has dwelt on the glory of the temporal and spiritual champions of the faith, Simon de Montfort and the Bishop Fulk of Toulouse. He has revelled in the sufferings of the heretics, mocked the shrieks of the burning women.[h] There is a sudden change. The Crusade is now a work of savage iniquity, outraging humanity and religion; Count Raymond is the noblest, most injured of men. But the high Provençal patriotism of the Troubadour is only the love of his country, attachment to the ancient house of the Counts of Toulouse: he has no sympathy for heretic or Albigensian.

Bishop of Toulouse.

In Toulouse the Count and the Bishop could not but come into collision. There was civil war in the city. The Count had foolishly yielded up the strong citadel, "The Narbonnaise." In the city the zealous Catholics prevailed. The Bishop organised a strong confraternity to root out with armed force the heretics, usurers, and Jews. They attacked, and in their religious zeal, pillaged and demolished houses. The borough, on the other side, was inhabited by the nobles. There the heretics had the chief power. Against the White Brethren of the Bishop were arrayed the Black Brethren of the citizens. The Bishop refused to celebrate, to permit the celebration,

[h] "Mainte folle hérétique beugle dans le feu." This is of the females burned at Mireux.—Compare Fauriel's preface.

of any divine office, so long as the city was infected by the presence of an excommunicated person. He had the modesty to request the Count to retire, on the pretence of an excursion, in order that he might perform at least one uncontaminated and undisturbed function.[l] The Count sent word by some of his soldiers that the Bishop himself must leave the city. "I was not elected to my see by a temporal prince, but by ecclesiastical authority. Let him come if he dare; I will encounter his sword with the holy chalice." The Bishop thought himself more safe in the camp of De Montfort, now engaged in the siege of Lavaur.[k]

Siege of Lavaur.

Lavaur belonged to Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, of all the Provençal princes the most powerful and most detested by the Church, as, if not a heretic, a favourer of heretics. In this case the charge was an honour rather than a calumny. The Count of Foix is claimed by the Waldensians, if not as one of themselves, as having encouraged his son in freedom of faith.[m] A man of profound religion, the Count of Foix had been the first to raise the native standard against De Montfort; he was a knight of valour as of Christian faith. Before Lavaur, the besieging engines were surmounted with a cross; and it was held sacrilegious impiety, when the besieged, having battered down one limb of the cross, presumed to scoff. One day the besiegers attempted to storm the city; the engines were driven to the walls, the besieged hurled burning wood and fat upon them; amid all this horrible tumult, the Bishops and the Legates, as before, stood chanting, "Come Holy Ghost!" At the fall of Lavaur Simon had been irritated by the surprise of a detachment of five thousand German crusaders, who had been cut to pieces

[l] The Bishop, says the Troubadour, had been established "pour Seigneur dans la ville, avec grande solemnité, comme un empereur."—p. 103.

[k] Petr. Vr. C. c. 51.

[m] According to the life of Roger Bernard, son of the Count by Holagarai, quoted in Perrin, Histoire des Chrétiens Albigens (Genève, 1615), p. 140, the Count of Foix, on his submission in 1222, answered the Legate—"Certes je vous dirai que je n'ai jamais désiré que de maintenir ma liberté: car je suis dans le maillot de franchise. . . . Pour le Pape, je ne l'ai point offensé: car il ne m'a rien demandé comme Prince que je ne lui aye obéi. Il ne se doit mesler de ma religion, veu qu'un chacun la doit avoir libre. *Mon père m'a recommandé toujours* ceste liberté, afin qu'étant en cette posture, quand le ciel crouleroit je le puisse regarder d'un œil fermé et assuré, estimant qu'il ne me pourrait faire de mal," &c. I owe this citation to Gieseler, p. 592.

by the Count de Foix. The barbarity at Lavaur passed all precedent even in this fearful war. A general massacre was permitted; men, women, children were cut to pieces, till there remained nothing to kill except some of the garrison and others reserved for a more cruel fate. Four hundred were burned in one great pile, which made a wonderful blaze, and caused universal rejoicing in the camp.[n] Aymeric of Montreal, the commander, was brought with eighty nobles (Lavaur seems to have been thought a safe place of refuge) before De Montfort. He ordered them all to be hanged;[o] the overloaded gibbets broke down; they were hewn in pieces. Giralda, the Lady of Lavaur, was thrown into a well, and huge stones rolled down upon her. She was pregnant: her merciless enemy would not even spare her fame; they reported that she accused herself of the most revolting incest.[p] The Troubadour, on the other hand, praises her virtue, her chastity: "no poor man ever left her without being fed." Soon after, Simon de Montfort surprised a camp of Count Raymond. The Bishops preached in vain to five hundred heretics, but converted not one; sixty, however, they burned with great joy.[q] From Lavaur De Montfort advanced to the siege of Toulouse. The Bishop was in his camp. At the Bishop's command, all the clergy, barefooted, and bearing the host, marched out of the city; they were followed by five hundred of the White Brethren. But want of supplies, and the bold sallies of the garrison, forced him to break up the siege; he revenged himself by wasting the gardens, vineyards, and meadows. At the end of the year, when the crusaders returned home, De Montfort himself was besieged in Castel Naudery: he revenged himself by a terrible defeat of the Count de Foix.

May 5, 1211.

June 27, 1211.

During the close of the year and the following one, the war raged, still to the advantage of De Mont-

[n] "Les envoyant ainsi brûler d'un feu éternel."—Gestes Glorieuses in Guizot, Coll. des Mémoires.

[o] "Jamais (says the poet) dans la Chrétienté si haut baron ne fut je crois pendu, avec tant d'autres chevaliers à ses côtés."—p. 113.

[p] "De fratre et filio se concepisse dixit."—Chron. Turon. apud Fauriel, p. 113.

[q] The Toulousans did not wage the war with less ferocity: at the taking of Pajols, sixty knights were slain or hung.

fort. The Archbishops of Rheims, Rouen, the Bishops of Paris, Laon, Toul were with him. At one time even Innocent, moved perhaps by the murmurs of Philip Augustus who began to be jealous of the growing power of De Montfort, seemed to waver into justice.[r] He commanded the restitution of the lands of the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and of Gaston de Bearn. He suspended his indulgences to the Crusaders. But he soon revoked again his own concessions, returned to his haughty and hostile tone, ordered the whole people to be raised by the offer of indulgences against the men of Toulouse and their allies. At a great parliament at Pamiers, De Montfort appeared as a Sovereign Prince; already the estates of the Languedocian nobles were awarded to the northern conquerors. It was enacted that noble women, heiresses of free fiefs, should only marry the nobles of France, those who spoke the langue d'oil. To win popularity against the nobles, the peasants and serfs were declared exempt from arbitrary payments. The churchmen must not be without their share of the spoil. The Legate Arnold obtained the Archbishopric of Narbonne. The successor of Stephen Harding and St. Bernard was not content with the metropolitan dignity; he assumed the proud feudal title, involving great secular rights, of Duke of Narbonne. The Abbot of Vaux Cernay had the Bishopric of Carcassone; other Cistercian monks received wealthy benefices. The Archbishop of Auch, the Bishop of Beziers were deposed;[s] the engineer, the Archdeacon of Paris, declined the Bishopric of Beziers.

Nov. 1211. De Montfort Sovereign Prince.

Count Raymond, before the close of the year, had lost all but Toulouse and Montauban; he fled to the King of Arragon; the gallant Spaniard declared that he would support his cause (he was connected by a double tie) against the wicked race who would despoil him of his heritage.[t] The

[r] Petr. V. C. 70. The Pope was nimis credulus falsis suggestionibus dicti regis (of France); afterwards he acted, re melius cognitâ.

[s] The Archbishop of Auch, Bernard de la Barthe (a Troubadour poet) resisted his degradation till 1214; he still boldly adhered to the side of Raymond.

[t] "Il est mon beau frère, dit-il, il a épousé une de mes sœurs, et l'autre je l'ai donnée pour femme à son fils. J'irai donc les secourir contre cette méchante race, qui veut leur enlever leur héritage." —Fauriel, p. 199.

Consuls of Toulouse addressed a supplication likewise to the King against their Bishop and against the Legate. They declared that they always gave proofs of their orthodoxy against convicted heretics; they had burned many, were ready to burn more.[u] They accused the Legate and the Bishop of excommunicating them, because they employed routiers (the soldiers of fortune) whom themselves did not scruple to buy off by higher pay, though guilty of the worst and most sacrilegious crimes. The very soldiers who had murdered certain priests (on this the monk of Vaux Cernay dwells, as the great crime of the Toulousans) had been enlisted among his own troops by the Legate.

King of Arragon.

The King of Arragon, before he engaged in the war, made an appeal to the Pope. Innocent was again shaken, and began to have some mistrust in the representations of his Legates. He had set in motion a terrible engine, he could not arrest or regulate its movements. The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Narbonne (the Abbot Arnold) and to Simon de Montfort, recounting the charges made against them. "They had not only invaded lands infected with heresy, but stretched out their rapacious hands to seize those of Catholics;[v] while the King of Arragon was engaged against the Saracens, they had infringed on his rights, waged war on his vassals, and occupied his territories. Count Raymond had offered to surrender all his dominions to his son, against whom was no charge or suspicion of heresy. Raymond should be admitted (the Pope now urged, or had before urged) to compurgation." Simon de Montfort was accused of wantonly shedding Catholic blood, under the pretence of extirpating heresy;[x] he was commanded to restore the territories which he had unjustly usurped, to the King of Arragon. But even the all-powerful Innocent

[u] "Unde multos combussimus, et adhuc cum invenimus, idem facere non cessamus."—See the petition in Bouquet, p. 206.

[v] "Ad illas nihilominus terras, quæ super hæresi nullâ notabantur infamiâ manus avidas extendistis."—Epist. xv. 212.

[x] "Quod tu convertens in Catholicos manus tuas, quibus suffecisse debuerat in homines hæreticæ pravitatis extendi per crucesignatorum exercitum ad effusionem justi sanguinis et innocentium injurium provocasti."—Epist. xv. 213. Simon is impaled on the horns of a pontifical dilemma. Either the inhabitants were Catholics or heretics: if Catholics, he had no right to invade their lands; if heretics, he ought not to let them live peaceably under his dominion.

was powerless in the cause of justice and humanity: his compunctuous visitings of mercy found no hearing even among the churchmen of the Crusade. The Council of Lavaur, attended by two archbishops as Legates, and by a great number of prelates, with one voice, determined to come to no terms with the "tyrant and heretic of Toulouse." If his dominions were restored to him heresy must triumph. All the representations of the King of Arragon in favour of the Counts of Toulouse, of Foix, and Comminges, and of Gaston de Bearn, were contemptuously rejected. Their letters were absolutely furious—"Arm yourself, my Lord Pope, with the zeal of Phineas; annihilate Toulouse, that Sodom, that Gomorrah, with all the wretches it contains; let not the tyrant, the heretic Raymond, nor even his young son, lift up his head; already more than half crushed, crush them to the very utmost." Innocent was once more on their side; he threatened the King of Arragon with a new Crusade.[y]

The great victory of Muret, in which Simon de Montfort with very inferior forces (he had at most about 1000 men-at-arms, about 400 squires) totally defeated, with the loss of one knight and a few common soldiers, the combined forces of the King of Arragon and the Count of Toulouse, seemed to decide for ever the fate of the devoted land.[z] Pedro of Arragon, the victor of Navas de Tolosa, was slain; his infant son, afterwards James I., fell into the hands of the conqueror at Carcassonne. The Counts of Toulouse, the father and son, fled. Battle of Muret. Sept. 12, 1213.

[y] Epist. xvi. 28, 40. Hurter, with whom all Innocent's acts must be saintly, is obliged to take refuge in the imperfect information of the Pope, and the abuse of his confidence by his agents: an excuse for a weak pontiff, but not for one whose sagacity and penetration are so highly coloured by Hurter himself. "Wenn während dieses Krieges manches sich ereignete was mit Betrübniss erfüllen muss, oder wenn derselbe in Raum und Zeit weiter sich erforderte, als die Erreichung des Zwecks, wozu er unternommen worden, so fällt hiervon keine Schuld auf Innocenz, der nicht überall sehen, in vielem auf Berichte von Männern sich verlassen musste, die seinen Vertrauen zu ihnen nicht immermehr so ehrten, wie es dem Besten der Kirche wünschbar war." Vorrede—p. vi. Gestes Glorieuses.

[z] Guizot, xv. 343. While the battle was going on, the whole clergy, bishops, abbots, continued chanting, so that they seemed "plutôt hurler que prier." They chose the day of battle, that of the elevation of the cross.—Puy Laurent.

The Pope, on the occasion of his sending a new Legate, the Cardinal Deacon, Peter of Benevento, Cardinal of St. Mary in Aquirre, in strange apocalyptic language celebrates this triumph,[a] "The Red Horse (the Count of Toulouse) and his soldiers, conjoined with the Black Horse of heresy, had been discomfited. The sign which Innocent had raised on the dark mountain had gathered the valiant and the holy of the Lord to his aid. They had trampled down the pride of the Chaldeans." The new Legate received the submission of the conquered princes, the Counts of Foix and Comminges and Rousillon, and the Viscount of Narbonne. They were sworn to renounce all heresy, all protection, all connivance with heretics; to surrender, if required, all their principal fortresses to the Church of Rome and her Legate, to give no succour to the city of Toulouse. If they fulfilled not these conditions, their castles escheated to the Pope; they were excommunicate, declared enemies and traitors to the Roman See. Even the Count of Toulouse was permitted to make his submission, but under harder conditions. Our compassion for the fate of Count Raymond is mitigated by the horror of his last act; he surprised his brother Baldwin, who had fallen off to De Montfort, and hung him on a walnut tree.[a] Raymond now surrendered all his dominions, which he had before made over to his son, without reservation to the See of Rome. He placed his person at his enemies' disposal, to retire to England, if they should so decree, till he could make his peace. He promised to procure the submission of his son to the mercy of the Pope. Yet, if we are to believe the monk of Vaux Cernay, even mercy on these terms was but a fraud practised on the nobles, to give De Montfort time to subdue the still refractory cities, Agen, Cahors, Toulouse; a pious fraud suggested by God's Holy Spirit![b]

April 18, 1214.

[a] Epist. xvi. 167, dated Jan. 17, 1214.

[a] It is even said, but by the Monk, that the Count of Foix and his son tied the rope.

[b] "Egit ergo misericorditer divina dispositio, ut dum Legatus hostes fidei qui Narbonæ erant congregati, alliceret et compesceret fraude suâ, Comes Montisfortis et peregrini, qui venerunt a Franciâ, possent transire ad partes caturcenses et aginenses, et suos, immo Christi, impugnare inimicos. O Legati fraus pia! O pietas fraudulenta!"—Petr. V. C. c. 78.

Simon de Montfort had strengthened himself by the marriage of his son with Beatrice, heiress of Dauphiny. At a council at Montpellier, held Jan. 8, 1215, the Legate demanded the advice of five archbishops, twenty-eight bishops, many abbots and dignitaries, as to the course to be pursued with regard to the conquered territory. With one assent they chose Simon de Montfort Prince and Sovereign of the whole land. Thus all the native and hereditary princes were deposed; the old ancestral house of Toulouse, erewhile the greatest territorial princedom in France without excepting even the King, connected by blood or marriage with all the Sovereigns of Europe, was despoiled of all: the whole of Languedoc, Catholic as well as heretical inhabitants, transferred to a new master.[c]

Simon de Montfort chosen Lord of the whole land.

Toulouse submitted; Prince Louis, son of Philip Augustus, who had now joined the Crusade, the Cardinal, the Bishop Fulk, Simon de Montfort, held secret councils, whether to pillage or burn the city; but De Montfort did not wish to ruin himself by destroying his own splendid and hard-won capital.[d] The Legate took possession of the strong castle, the Narbonnaise. The young Count withdrew to England, followed, after some time, by his father. The Crusade of Prince Louis of France was a triumphant procession—he met no resistance. The walls of Toulouse and Narbonne were thrown down. But if the pomp was with Prince Louis, the gain of the victory was with De Montfort. Philip Augustus had never approved of his son's Crusade; he beheld this new realm of De Montfort with no favourable eyes. When Louis appeared before him, on his return from the South, and

[c] "C'est ainsi que Raymond VI., Comte de Toulouse, fut dépouillé de tous ses états, et que ce Prince, le plus grand terrier qui fut alors dans le royaume, sans en excepter le roi même, se vit enfin réduit à ne posséder plus une pouce de terre, sans que les liens de sang qui l'attachaient à presque tous les souverains de l'Europe fussent capables de le mettre à l'abri des entreprises de ceux qui en voulaient plus à ses dominions qu'à sa croyance."—Vaissette, p. 285.

[d] "Cependant le fils du Roi de France, qui consent à mal, Don Simon, le Cardinal, et Folquet tous ensemble proposent en secret de saccager (d'abord) toute la ville; puis d'y mettre le feu ardent (pour la brûler). Mais Don Simon reflechit, que s'il détruit la ville, ce sera à son dommage."—Fauriel, 223. The advice of the Bishop in the Historian is even more atrocious.

described the wealth and power of Simon, the King gave no answer.[e]

Fourth Lateran Council. A.D. 1215. St. Martin's Day.

The fourth Lateran Council,[f] one of the most numerous ever held in Christendom,[g] was called upon to decide the course to be taken against heretics, and especially the fate of Languedoc. It assumed the full power of deposing a Sovereign Prince, and awarding his dominions to a stranger. Count Raymond of Toulouse was for ever excluded from the sovereignty of the land, condemned to pass the rest of his life in exile, in some place appointed for him to do fit penance. A pension of 400 marks was reserved out of his revenues, which he would forfeit by any act of disobedience to the Church. To his wife, the sister of the King of Arragon, her dowry was secured on account of her virtue and piety. Provence and some other cantons, yet unconquered by the Crusaders, were to be reserved under the custody of trustworthy persons, as an inheritance for the young Count of Toulouse, if, when of age, he should have been obedient to the Church. As to the Counts of Foix and Comminges, nothing was enacted, but they were allowed some hopes of pardon.

Such were the acts of the Lateran council. But the Troubadour[h] and the Historian describe the debates, which led at length to these imperious decrees. Passages in other writers leave no doubt that the decision was resisted by many of the most powerful and generous prelates;[i] and confirmed with reluctance by the Pope himself. The

[e] "Rex vero Franciæ audiens quod filius suus crucesignatus esset multum doluit, sed causam doloris ejus non est nostrum exponere." The Monk's silence is significant.—Petr. V. C. c. 68.

[f] The Council of Lateran declared the unity of God, who created of nothing both souls and bodies (the Aristotelian doctrines of the eternity of matter had begun to prevail) the unity of the Church, out of which none can be saved: it first authoritatively proclaimed Transubstantiation.

[g] So great was the concourse of people that the good Bishop of Amalfi was suffocated in the throng.—Chron. Amalf. apud Murat. A. T. i. p. 246. There were the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, of Antioch and Alexandria (by deputy), 71 archbishops, 412 bishops, 860 abbots or priors.

[h] It is a curious question, whether the history is a prose version of the poem: if so, it is a free one, as it differs in many particulars. If the poem is the original, how far is it poetical? how far has the poet, who is usually unpoetically historical, here indulged invention? Poetically it is the best, the only part of the poem which is alive.

[i] "Verum quidem est quod fuerint aliqui, etiam quod est gravius, de Prælatis, qui nostræ fidei adversi, pro restitutione dictorum Comitum laborabant; sed non prævaluit consilium Ahitophel, frustratum et desiderium malignorum."—Petr. V. C. c. 83.

Lateran council, according to this account, was a long conflict between the temporal princes who demanded the restoration of their estates, and were supported by some of the most distinguished churchmen, and the ecclesiastics of Languedoc, Arnold the Archbishop of Narbonne (though even he, from a personal quarrel about the rights of the Church of Narbonne, was somewhat moderated in his admiration of Simon de Montfort), and Fulk, the Bishop of Toulouse, the implacable enemy of Raymond. Innocent, the haughty Innocent, appears in the midst; mild, but wavering; seeing clearly that which was just, humane, merciful, and disposed to the better course; but overborne by the violence of the adverse party, and weakly yielding to that of which his mind and heart equally disapproved.[k] The whole scene is so characteristic as well as dramatic, that the chief points may be accepted (certainly they formed part of the popular belief) as to the proceedings of that great Council. Secret history.

Raymond and his son, accompanied by the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and many other nobles of Languedoc, were admitted to the presence of the Pope, seated in full consistory among his cardinals and other prelates: they knelt before him; the young Raymond presented letters from the King of England (who had received hospitably and made splendid presents to his nephew). The King of England expressed his indignation at the usurpation of the inheritance of Raymond by Simon de Montfort. The Pope was moved by the beauty and graceful bearing of the young Prince, thought of his wrongs, and wept.[m]

Count Raymond began at length to represent the aggressions and injustice of the Legate and of De Montfort, who, notwithstanding all his submission to the Pope, and all the treaties, had despoiled him of his territories. He

[k] Hurter, solicitous to catch any gleams of equity and gentleness, which may soften the sterner characters of his hero and saint, follows without hesitation the history, not perceiving the humiliation of Innocent, thus reduced to be the tame instrument of the bigotry of others.

[m] "Le Pape considère l'enfant et son air, il connaît sa noble race, il sait les torts ... de l'Eglise et du clergé, ennemis (du Comte) et il a le cœur si troublé de pitié et de souci ... qu'il en soupire, et en pleure de ses deux yeux."—Fauriel, p. 127. The Pope, says the poet, declared that Count Raymond was not mécréant, but catholique de fait et de propos.

was followed by the Counts of Foix and Comminges complaining of the pillage of their lands, and the lawless massacre of their subjects. "The Church not only should not sanction, it should prohibit such cruelties in a land which was absolutely free from all taint of heresy, and in every respect submissive to the Church."[n] The Pope having heard the depositions, and read the letters of the King of England, was in great wrath with the Legate and with De Montfort. First one of the Cardinals, then Berengar, Abbot of St. Tiberi, rose and supported the complaints of the appellants. Fulk, the Bishop of Toulouse, sternly denied all these asseverations. He defied the Count de Foix to deny that his dominions swarmed with heretics; in proof of this, the castle of Monsegur had been surprised, and all the inhabitants burned; "the sister of the Count de Foix had brought her husband to an evil end on account of these heretics; she had lived in Pamiers without daring to leave the city; the heretics had greatly increased through her influence. Count Raymond and the Count de Foix could not deny that they had surprised and put to the sword six thousand German Crusaders, on their way to join the army of the Legate." The Count de Foix fearlessly replied, that he was not responsible for the acts of his sister; the castle of Monsegur was hers, left to her by her father; she was its lawful Sovereign. The Germans were robbers, who were ravaging the country. "For the Bishop of Toulouse, your Holiness is greatly deceived in him; under the show of good faith and amity he is always concerting treachery: his actions are devilish: it is entirely through his malignity that the city of Toulouse has suffered ruin, waste, robbery: more than ten thousand men have perished through him. Thus the Legate and the Count de Montfort make common cause in their iniquity." The Baron of Vilamour deposed with great gravity[o] to the atrocities perpetrated by De Montfort; Raymond de Roquefeuille to the treachery by which the Viscount de Beziers, no heretic, had been betrayed into their power,

[n] The speech of the Count de Foix in the poem is striking.—pp. 249-251. We hear nothing of the enormities charged against De Foix by the monk of Vaux Cernay. But did the Count renounce all heresy?

[o] "Il ne s'effraye point, et parle fièrement, regardé, entendu, écouté de tous."

and the manner of his death. The Pope listened in silence to these solemn charges; at their close he was heard to sigh deeply.

No sooner had the Pope withdrawn,[p] than he was beset by the prelates and cardinals in the party of the Legate and of De Montfort. They urged, that if they were compelled to surrender the territories and lordships which they had won, no one would embark in the cause of the Church, or run any hazard in her defence. The Pope took down a book (was it the Bible?), and showed them that if they did not make restitution of all the lands they had usurped, they would be guilty of great sin.[q] "Wherefore, I give leave to Raymond of Toulouse and his heirs to recover their lands and lordships from all who hold them unjustly." Then might be seen those prelates murmuring against the Pope like men in desperation.[r] The Pope stood aghast at their violence. The Precentor of Lyons, one of the most learned clerks in the world, rose, and with great dignity, rebuked the insolence and contumacy of the prelates. "You know well, my Lord, the submission of Count Raymond, and the surrender of his castles. If you do not restore, and compel to be restored to him his lands, you will be justly reproached by God and man. Henceforth no one will have any reliance on you or your decrees; and that will be great disgrace and dishonour to the whole Church militant. And I say to you, Bishop of Toulouse, that you are greatly in fault; that you betray your want of charity to Count Raymond, and to the people of which you are the pastor; you have kindled a fire in Toulouse which will never be extinguished; you have caused the death of ten thousand men, and will of many more, if by your false representations you persist in your wrongful course. Through you the court of Rome is defamed throughout the world; so many men should not be despoiled and destroyed to gratify the pride and violence of one."

The Pope seems to have been appalled; he gently ex-

[p] Into a garden, says the poet, to dissipate his chagrin and divert his thoughts.

[q] "Et y trouve un *sort*," says the poet. Sortes Biblicæ were not uncommon.

[r] The poet says, "Folquet notre Evêque . . . parle au Pape, aussi doucement qu'il peut."—p. 243.

culpated himself, as innocent of these iniquities, into which he had been betrayed by ignorance of the real facts. Even the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Legate Arnold, alienated from De Montfort, supported the Precentor of Lyons. But the wily Genoese, Theodisc, who had been so much in the confidence of Innocent, adhered to De Montfort. He urged his valuable services, that he had swept the land of heretics, that he had been the champion of the Church and her rights. Innocent, having heard both parties, declared to Theodisc, that the contrary o his statements was true. "The Legate had oppressed the good and just, and left the wicked without punishment: complaints had reached him from all quarters against the Legate and De Montfort."

The prelates demanded that at least the territories of Bigorre, Carcassonne, Toulouse, Agen, Quercy, the Albigeois, Foix and Comminges (the whole conquests of the Crusaders), should be left to De Montfort. "If he be deprived of these lands," they boldly declared, "we swear that we will aid him in their maintenance against all and in defiance of all."[s] The Pope calmly answered that nothing should tempt him to injustice; "even if Raymond were guilty, his son was blameless; and the son was not to bear the iniquity of the father."

It is difficult to imagine Innocent III. thus confronted, compelled into injustice, by men who boasted themselves to be better churchmen than the Pope. But the decree of the Lateran Council, despoiling Raymond of Toulouse of all his lands and awarding them to De Montfort, is an undeniable historic fact, rests on a decree of Innocent himself, addressed to all Christendom, and confirmed by his successor Honorius III.[t]

Yet, according to the historian, Innocent attempted a compromise. He offered the territory of the Venaisin to the younger Raymond, in compensation for the lands of Toulouse, which could not be wrested from the strong hand of De Montfort.[u] "If he has courage," the poet

[s] "Et si cas es, que tu, senhor, ly vellas ostar le dit pays, et terre, nos te prometen et juran, que tots envers tots nos ly ayudaran et secouren."—Guerre des Albigeois, Bouquet, p. 159.

[t] Bouquet, pp. 598, 599; p. 722.

[u] "Barons, reprend le Pape, puisque *je ne puis la lui ôter*, qu'il la garde bien

makes the Pope say, "the youth will recover his land;" and he then makes a prophet of the Pope, "The stone will at length be hurled, and all the world will say that it has fallen on the head of the sinner." Count Raymond retired to Viterbo, leaving his son under the protection of the Pope. Young Raymond at length departed with the benediction of the Pope.[x]

War in Languedoc.

There is war again in Languedoc, but no longer a Crusade for the extirpation of heresy, it is the iron hand of an usurping conqueror, determined to maintain his conquests; on the other side, no partial, but a general insurrection of the whole people in favour of their hereditary princes against a foreign invader, a gallant attempt again and for ever to break the yoke of a tyrant, to return to the milder rule of their ancient Sovereigns. No sooner had the two Counts landed at Marseilles, than they were greeted by a burst of enthusiasm. Avignon, Tarascon, and other cities opened their gates. Young Raymond is soon at the head of a force which enables him to declare war against De Montfort, and to form the siege of Beaucaire. Now became more manifest every day the decline in the power of the clergy;[y] the Crusaders themselves have misgivings in the holiness of their cause. De Montfort's most ardent admirers begin to discern the darker parts of his character, his inordinate ambition, his insatiable rapacity. Simon de Montfort is himself astonished that God should cease to confine exclusive favour to himself, and should seem disposed to the sinful youth.[z]

s'il peut: et qu'il ne s'en laisse pas chasser, car jamais de mon vouloir il ne sera prêché pour lui."—Fauriel, p. 255.

[x] The parting between the Pope and young Raymond is touchingly told by the Troubadour. The Pope gives him good advice, and recommends him to wait for better times. "It is hard," says the youth, "that a man of Winchester is to share my land with me! All I ask is that I may be permitted to reconquer my dominions if I can." "God grant you," said the Pope, "a good beginning and a good ending."

[y] See the speech of Bertrand of Avignon in the poem: "Car nous avons éprouvé et senti avec douleur, que les clercs ont menti quand ils nous disaient, qu'en répandant le feu, qu'en frappant de glaive, qu'en forçant notre vrai seigneur à s'en aller faidit... nous obéirons tout bonnement à Jesus Christ." —p. 299.

[z] "Beau père," says Guy de Montfort, in the poem, "il (Dieu) a vu et jugé votre conduite, pourvu que tout le bien et tout l'argent (du pays) soient à vous, vous prenez peu de soucie de la mort des hommes."—p. 345. Compare 445, Gul. de Pod. Laurent. c. xxvii. It is difficult to mark the precise turning point of the Troubadour into a flaming

Toulouse was eager to receive the heir of her ancient house. De Montfort was obliged to hasten to secure its wavering fidelity by the sternest measures. He treated it like a conquered city, exacted enormous sums. The Bishop had exhorted the noblest inhabitants to go out in procession to welcome the Count. But the plunder of the city by the Bishop and the Count were so shameless, that in a general rising, Guy de Montfort and the Bishop were driven out. De Montfort again forced his way within the walls, was again repelled, having set the city on fire in many places. But the citizens unwisely accepted the treacherous mediation of the Prelate. "I swear by God and the holy Virgin, and the body of the Redeemer, by my whole order, the Abbot and other dignitaries, that I give you good counsel, better have I never given. If the Count inflict on you the least wrong, bring your complaints before me, and God and I will see you righted." The citizens, on the persuasion of the Bishop, gave the hostages demanded (the citadel, the Narbonnaise, still in the power of De Montfort, was crowded with them), they restored the prisoners which they had taken, and, more strangely still, surrendered their arms.[a] The first act of De Montfort, who was hardly dissuaded by better counsel from totally destroying the city, was the demand of 30,000 marks of silver, the demolition of the walls, and every stronghold in the city, and the plunder of the inhabitants to the very last piece of cloth, or measure of meal. "O noble city of Toulouse!" exclaims the poet, "thy very bones are broken!"

Risings in Toulouse.

So closed the year 1216, during which Pope Innocent III. had died, and had been succeeded by Honorius III.

During the ensuing year the war with the young Count Raymond continued to the advantage of De Montfort. On a sudden the old Count,[b] with a

July 16. A.D. 1217.

patriot. The restoration of "parage," chivalry, and courtesy is his delight. Yet Simon, in his own esteem, is still the champion of the Church. "Puisque l'Eglise m'a octroyée le pays; puisque je suis de l'Eglise les œuvres, les ordres et les discours: puisque je suis bien méritant et mon adversaire pécheur, c'est pour moi, dis-je, grande merveille que Dieu favorise (cet enfant)."

[a] Gul. de Pod. Laurent. gives a different view of this affair.—c. xxxix.

[b] The suddenness of the appearance of Count Raymond is indicated by a fine touch in the poem. The Countess de Montfort is told that she must fly at

body of Spanish soldiers appeared before Toulouse. The city received him with the utmost joy; new walls were hastily raised, new trenches dug. Many of the nobles raised troops and threw themselves into the city. First Guy de Montfort,[c] then Simon himself, who hurried to the spot, were ignominiously repulsed. The Bishop of Toulouse and the wife of Montfort sought aid in France. A new Crusade was preached. Pope Honorius entered with ardour into the cause of De Montfort. It was again that of the whole clergy. Once more excommunications were menaced in some cases, uttered in others. The new King of Arragon was threatened with interdict; the consuls of Toulouse, Avignon, Marseilles, Tarascon, and other cities, the young Count Raymond, the Count de Foix were summoned under this penalty to renounce their alliance with rebellious Toulouse. For nine months the siege continued. If the sentiments attributed by the Troubadour to the Legate were either true, or supposed to be true by the inhabitants of Toulouse, it may account for the obstinacy of their defence. "The fire of hell has again kindled in this city, which is full of sin and crime. The old Lord is again within its walls, against whom whosoever will wage war will be saved before God. You are about to reconquer the city, to break into the houses, out of which no single soul, neither man nor woman shall escape alive! not one shall be spared in church, in sanctuary, in hospital! It is decided in the secret councils of Rome, that the deadly and consuming fire shall pass over them."[d] But the counsels of Rome were not those of Divine Providence. At the close of the nine months Simon headed an attack; a stone from an engine struck the champion of Jesus Christ (as he was called by his admirers) on the head; he had just time to commend himself to the mercy of God and of the holy

once. "La Comtesse, quand elle l'entend, bat ses deux mains l'une contre l'autre. Quoi, dit-elle, et j'étais si heureuse hier."

[c] In the poem Guy de Montfort is contrasted with Simon de Montfort, whom he calls "dur et tyran," and declares that God will punish his treacheries.

[d] Fauriel, 433. See before this the dialogue of the Cardinal and the Bishop, 429; and after, 455. "Et si quelques uns des vôtres y meurent en combattant, le Saint Pape et moi leurs sommes garants, qu'ils porteront (au ciel) la couronne des innocents."

Virgin. God was reproached with his death, the divine justice was arraigned. It is added by the monkish historian, still faithful to his fortunes, that he received likewise five wounds with arrows; and in this respect he is likened to the Redeemer in whose cause he died, and with whom "we trust he is in bliss and glory." [e]

The war did not end with the death of Simon de Montfort; but the religious character, which it had once more assumed, again died away.

A Crusade was headed by Louis of France; but that was only a bold and premature attempt of the sovereign to unite the great domain of Southern France to the crown. After the capture and atrocious massacre of Marmande, and a short and unsuccessful siege of Toulouse, Louis returned inglorious to his father's dominions. A truce was made between the young Count Raymond, and Amaury de Montfort.[f] It was said that Raymond proposed to marry the daughter of his rival. Two years after Amaury made over his dominions to Louis VIII., King of France.

Crusade of Prince Louis. Aug. 1, 1219.

A.D. 1221.

The vengeance of the Church followed the older Raymond even after death. Dying excommunicate he could not be buried in holy ground. In vain his son adduced proofs that he had given manifest signs of penitence on his death-bed: notwithstanding a solemn inquest held by commissaries appointed by the Pope, and the examination of above one hundred witnesses, the inexorable sentence was still unrepealed; [g] the infected body was still unburied; it remained for three hundred years in the sacristy of the Knights Templars. To posterity the great crime of Raymond is the barbarous execution of his bro-

Aug. 1222.

[e] "Vous entendez crier hautement—O Dieu, tu n'es pas juste—puisque tu as voulu la mort du comte et que tu as souffert (un tel) dommage. Bien fol est qui te defend, et se fait ton serviteur."—Fauriel, 573. In Toulouse the triumphant cry was that he died without confession. The Bishop's eulogy was this: "Jamais en ce monde ne faillit moins que lui; et depuis que Dieu endura le martyr et fut mis en croix, il ne voulut et ne souffrit jamais une aussi grande mort que celui du Comte." The Count of Soissons replied: "Je vous reprend à bon droit, pour que Sainte Eglise n'ait pas (de votre dire) mauvais renom; ne le nommez pas sanctissime, car nul ne mentit si fort que celui qui l'appelle saint, lui qui est mort sans confession."—p. 577. Compare the Poet's language, p. 587.

[f] It is a curious illustration of the manners. "Sub treugæ securitate comes Tolosanus entravit Carcassonam, et ibi cum comite Amalrico jacuit unâ nocte."

[g] Gul. Pod. Laurent, c. 34.

ther Baldwin. Baldwin, indeed, had deserted, betrayed, taken up arms against him; but there had never been fraternal love between them. Raymond, it was said, had withholden part of his brother's inheritance. And mercy, though it ought to be the virtue of the persecuted, rarely is so.

The vast army which descended on Languedoc under Louis, now King of France, was that of conquest rather than a Crusade. The cities were appalled, they opened their gates; Avignon alone made a noble resistance. Count Raymond bowed before the storm. On his return, after the seeming submission of almost the whole land, Louis died of exhaustion and fatigue at Montpensier in Auvergne. Nov. 8, 1226.

The treaty of Paris, after the accession of St. Louis, restored peace, for a time at least, to the afflicted land. The terms were dictated by the Papal Legate, approved by the King of France. Count Raymond VII. swore:—I. Fealty to his liege lord the King of France and to the Church. II. He swore to do immediate justice on all heretics, their abettors and partisans, even though his vassals, kindred or friends. III. To detect, in order to their punishment, all such heretics, according to the rules laid down by the Legate, and to pay for two years two marks, afterwards one mark on the conviction of each heretic. IV. To maintain peace in his realm. Besides to maintain the rights of the Church; to respect, and cause to be respected, all sentences of excommunication, and to compel all persons excommunicate to reconcile themselves within a year to the Church, under pain of confiscation of their property. To restore all estates and immunities to the Church, to pay, and enforce the due payment of tithes; to pay to certain Cistercian abbeys, Clairvaux, and others, 10,000 marks of silver; to pay 5000 marks for the fortification of the citadel, the Narbonnaise, and those in other cities, to be held as securities by the King of France; to maintain certain professors of theology; to take the cross for five years in some Mohammedan country. On these, and other conditions relating to the boundaries of his dominions, of which he was obliged to abandon large portions (his daughter was to April 12, 1229. Treaty of Paris.

be married to the son of the French King) Raymond VII., never accused of heresy, received absolution. The same scene took place as with his father. With naked shoulders, bare feet, the son of Raymond of Toulouse was led up the church of Nôtre Dame, scourged as he went by the Legate. "Count of Narbonne, by virtue of the powers entrusted to me by the Pope, I absolve thee from thy excommunication." "Amen;" answered the Count. He rose from his knees, no longer sovereign of the South of France, but a vassal of limited dominions.[h] His father on his penance renounced seven castles, the son seven provinces.[i]

But though the open war was at an end, the Church still pursued her exterminating warfare against her still rebellious subjects. The death of Simon de Montfort had given courage to the Albigensians. Bartholomew of Carcassonne, who had fled, it was said, to that land (the Bulgurian) where dwelt the Pope of the Manicheans, re-appeared; he called himself the vicar of that mysterious pontiff, he re-organised the churches. Another teacher, William of Castries, was ordained, it was said, Bishop of Rases. The Inquisition continued its silent, but not less inhuman, hardly less destructive crusade. That tribunal, with all its peculiar statutes, its jurisdiction, its tremendous agency, was founded during this period. It is difficult to fix its precise date; but it is coincident with the establishment of a special court, legatine or charged with those peculiar functions which superseded the ordinary episcopal jurisdiction, and appropriated to itself the cognisance, punishment, suppression of heresy.

Council of Toulouse. A.D. 1229.

The statutes of the council of Toulouse, framed after the successful termination of the war, in order absolutely to extirpate every lingering vestige of

[h] Barran et Darragan. It is to be regretted that this work has preferred to be an historical romance rather than a history. The authors have failed in both; it is neither Walter Scott nor Livy or Tacitus.

[i] See in Vaissette the territories ceded to the King of France. "On voit par ce traité, que les principaux instigateurs de la guerre contre Raymond son geoient bien moins de sa catholicité, qu'à le déposseder de ses dominions et à s'enrichir de ses dépouilles. . . . . Quant à sa propre personne il ne fut jamais suspect d'hérésie, et il ne fut excommunié que parcequ'il ne voulait pas renoncer ses justes prétensions sur la patrimonie de ses ancêtres."—Hist. de Languedoc, iii. 374.

neresy, form the code of persecution, which not merely aimed at suppressing all public teaching, but the more secluded and secret freedom of thought. It was a system which penetrated into the most intimate sanctuary of domestic life; made delation not merely a merit and a duty, but an obligation also, enforced by tremendous penalties.

The Archbishops, bishops, and exempt abbots, were to appoint in every parish one priest, and three or more lay inquisitors, to search all houses and buildings, in order to detect heretics, and to denounce them to the archbishop or bishop, the lord, or his bailiff, so as to ensure their apprehension. The lords were to make the same inquisition in every part of their estates. Whoever was convicted of harbouring a heretic forfeited the land to his lord, and was reduced to personal slavery. If he was guilty of such concealment from negligence not from intention, he received proportionate punishment. Every house in which a heretic was found was to be razed to the ground, the farm confiscated. The bailiff who should not be active in detecting heretics was to lose his office, and be incapacitated from holding it in future. Heretics, however, were not to be judged but by the bishop or some ecclesiastical person. Any one might seize a heretic on the lands of another. Heretics who recanted were to be removed from their homes, and settled in Catholic cities; to wear two crosses of a different colour from their dress, one on the right side, one on the left. They were incapable of any public function unless reconciled by the Pope or by his Legate. Those who recanted from fear of death were to be immured for ever. All persons, males of the age of fourteen, females of twelve, were to take an oath of abjuration of heresy, and of their Catholic faith; if absent, and not appearing within fifteen days, they were held suspected of heresy. All persons were to confess, and communicate three times a year, or were in like manner under suspicion of heresy. No layman was permitted to have any book of the Old or New Testament, especially in a translation, unless *perhaps* the Psalter, a breviary, or the Hours of the Virgin. No one suspected of heresy could practise as a physician. Care

was to be taken that no heretic had access to sick or dying persons. All wills were to be made in the presence of a priest. No office of trust was to be held by one in evil fame as a heretic. Those were in evil fame, who were so by common report, or so declared by good and grave witnesses before the bishop.[k]

Council of Melun.

But statutes of persecution always require new statutes rising above each other in regular gradations of rigour and cruelty. The Legate found the canons of Toulouse to be eluded or inefficient. He summoned a council at Melun, attended by the Archbishop of Narbonne and other prelates. The unhappy Count of Toulouse was compelled to frame the edicts of this council into laws for his dominions.[m] The first provision showed that persecution had wrought despair. It was directed against those who had murdered, or should murder, or conceal the murderers of persecutors of heretics. A reward of one mark was set on the head of every heretic, to be paid by the town, or village, or district to the captor. It was evident that the heretics had now begun to seek concealment in cabins, in caves, and rocks, and forests; not merely was every house in which one should be seized to be razed to the ground, but all suspected caves or hiding places were to be blocked up; with a penalty of twenty-five livres of Toulouse to the lord on whose estate such houses or places of concealment of evil report should be found. Those who did not assist in the capture of heretics were liable to punishment. If any one was detected after death to have been a heretic his property was confiscated. Those who had made over their estates in trust, before they became heretics, nevertheless

[k] The statutes of Toulouse in Mansi, sub ann. Compare Limborch, Historia Inquisitionis. Among the other decrees of the Council was one which declared the absolute immunity of all clerks from taxation, unless they were merchants or married (mercatores vel uxorati). If one succeeded to the inheritance of a lay fief, he was answerable for its burthens. They were likewise free from tolls (péages). Every person was bound to attend church on Sundays and holidays. The statutes against private wars were in a more Christian spirit, only beyond the age. Every male above 14 was sworn to keep the peace; and heavy penalties denounced against all who should violate it. This was perhaps a law of foreign conquerors in a subjugated land.

[m] Conventus Meldunensis. Statuta Raimondi, A.D. 1233. Labbe Concil. sub ann.

forfeited such estates. Those who attempted to elude the law by moving about under pretence of trade or pilgrimage, were ordered to render an account of their absence. A Council at Beziers enforced upon the clergy, under pain of suspension, or of deprivation, the denunciation of all who should not attend divine service in their churches, on the appointed days, especially those suspected of heresy. A.D. 1233.

Yet heresy, even the Manichean heresy, was not yet extinguished. Many years, as will appear,[n] must intervene of the administration of the most atrocious code of procedure which has ever assumed the forms of justice; more than one formidable insurrection; the forcible expulsion of the terrible Inquisition; the assassination, the martyrdom as it was profanely called, of more than one inquisitor, before the South of France collapsed into final spiritual subjection.

Yet, Latin Christianity might boast at length to have crushed out the life, at least in outward appearance, of this insurrection within her own borders. No language of Latin descent was permanently to speak in its religious services to the people, to form a Christian literature of its own, to have full command of the Scriptures in its vernacular dialect. The Crusade revenged itself on the poetry of the Troubadour, once the bold assailant of the clergy, by compelling it, if not to total silence, to but a feeble and uncertain sound.

[n] See on for the proceedings of the Inquisition.

CHAPTER IX.

NEW ORDERS. ST. DOMINIC.

The progress of the new opinions in all quarters, their obstinate resistance in Languedoc, opinions, if not yet rooted out, lopped by the sword and seared by the fire, had revealed the secret of the fatal weakness of Latin Christianity. Sacerdotal Christianity, by ascending a throne higher than all thrones of earthly sovereigns, by the power, the wealth, the magnificence of the higher ecclesiastics, had withdrawn the influence of the clergy from its natural and peculiar office. Even with the lower orders of the priesthood, that which separated them from the people in a certain degree, set them apart from the sympathies of the people. The Church might still seem to preach to all, but it preached in a tone of lofty condescension; it dictated rather than persuaded; but in general actual preaching had fallen into disuse; it was in theory the special privilege of the bishops, and the bishops were but few who had either the gift, the inclination, the leisure from their secular, judicial, or warlike occupations to preach even in their cathedral cities; in the rest of their dioceses their presence was but occasional; a progress or visitation of pomp and form, rather than of popular instruction. The only general teaching of the people was the Ritual.

Preaching rare.

But the splendid Ritual, admirably as it was constituted to impress by its words or symbolic forms the leading truths of Christianity upon the more intelligent, or in a vaguer way upon the more rude and uneducated, could be administered, and was administered by a priesthood almost entirely ignorant, but which had just learned mechanically, not without decency, perhaps not without devotion, to go through the stated observances. Everywhere the bell summoned to

The Ritual.

the frequent service, the service was performed, and the obedient flock gathered to the chapel or the church, knelt, and either performed their orisons, or heard the customary chant and prayer. This, the only instruction which the mass of the priesthood could convey, might for a time be sufficient to maintain in the minds of the people a quiescent and submissive faith, nevertheless, in itself could not but awaken in some a desire of knowledge, which it could not satisfy. Auricular confession, now by Innocent III. raised to a necessary duty, and to be heard not only by the lofty bishop, but by the parochial priest, might have more effect in repressing the uneasy or daring doubts of those who began to reason; doubts which would startle and alarm the uneducated priest, and which he would endeavour to silence at once by all the terrors of his authority. Though the lower priesthood were from the people, they were not of the people; nor did they fully interpenetrate the whole mass of the people. The parochial divisions, where they existed, were arbitrary, accidental, often not clearly defined; they followed in general the bounds of royal or aristocratical domains. A church was founded by a pious king, noble, or knight, with a certain district around it; but in few countries was there any approach to a systematic organisation of the clergy in relation to the spiritual wants and care of the whole Christian community.

The fatal question of the celibacy of the clergy worked in both ways to the prejudice of their authority. The married clergy, on the whole no doubt the more moral, were acting in violation of the rules of the Church, and were subject to the opprobrious accusation of living in concubinage. The validity of their ministrations was denied by the more austere; the doctrines of men charged with such grievous error lost their proper weight. The unmarried obeyed the outward rule, but by every account, not the bitter satire of enemies alone but the reluctant and melancholy admission of the most gentle and devout, in general so flagrantly violated the severer principles of the Church, that their teaching, if they attempted actual teaching, must have fallen dead on the minds of the people.

Celibacy of clergy.

Monasticism.

The earlier monastic orders were still more deficient as instructors in Christianity. Their chief, if not their sole exclusive and avowed object, was the salvation, or, at the highest, the religious perfection of themselves and of their own votaries. Solitude, seclusion, the lonely cell, their own unapproached, or hardly approached chapel, was their sphere; their communication with others was sternly cut off. The dominant, the absorbing thought of each hermit, of each cœnobite, was his own isolation or that of his brethren from the dangerous world. But to teach the world they must enter the world. Their influence, therefore, beyond their convent walls was but subordinate and accessory. The halo of their sanctity might awe, attract others; the zeal of love might, as to their more immediate neighbours, struggle with the coercive and emprisoning discipline. But the admiration of their sanctity would act chiefly in alluring emulous votaries within rather than in extending faith and holiness beyond their walls. Even their charities were to relieve their own souls, to lay up for themselves treasures of good works, rather than from any real sympathy for the people. The loftier notion of combining their own humiliation with the good of mankind first dawned upon the founders of the Mendicant orders. In the older monasteries beneficence was but a subsidiary and ancillary virtue. The cultivation of the soil was not to increase its fertility for the general advantage; it was to employ their own dangerous energies, to subdue their own bodies by the hard discipline of labour. At all events, the limit of their influence was that of their retainers, tenants, peasants, or serfs, bounded by their own near neighbouhood. No sooner indeed had any one of the older Orders, or any single monastery attained to numbers, rank or influence, than it became more and more estranged from the humbler classes; the vows of poverty had been eluded, the severer rule gradually relaxed; the individual might remain poor, but the order or the convent became rich; narrow cells grew into stately cloisters, deserts into parks, hermits into princely abbots. It became a great religious aristocracy; it became worldly, without impregnating the

world with its religious spirit; it was hardly less secluded from popular intercourse than before; even where learning was cultivated it was the high scholastic theology: theology which, in its pride, stood as much aloof from the popular mind as the feudal bishop, or the mitred abbot.

But just at this time that popular mind throughout Christendom seemed to demand instruction. There was a wide and vague wakening and yearning of the human intellect. It is impossible to suppose that the lower orders were not to a certain extent generally stirred by that movement which thronged the streets of the universities of Paris, Auxerre, Oxford, with countless hosts of indigent scholars, which led thousands to the feet of Abélard, and had raised logical disputations on the most barren metaphysical subjects to an interest like that of a tournament. An insatiate thirst of curiosity, of inquiry, at least for mental spiritual excitement, seemed almost suddenly to have pervaded society.

Intellectual movement.

Here that which was heresy, or accounted to be heresy, stepped in and seized upon the vacant mind. Preaching in public and in private was the strength of all the heresiarchs, of all the sects. Eloquence, popular eloquence became a new power, which the Church had comparatively neglected or disdained since the time of the Crusades; or had gone on wasting upon that worn-out, and now almost unstirring topic. The Petrobussians, the Henricians, the followers of Peter Waldo, and the wilder teachers at least tinged with the old Manichean tenets of the East, met on this common ground. They were poor and popular, they felt with the people, whether the lower burghers of the cities, the lower vassals, or even the peasants and serfs; they spoke the language of the people, they were of the people. If here and there one of the higher clergy, a priest or a canon adopted their opinions and mode of teaching, he became an object of reverence and notoriety; and this profound religious influence so obtained was a strong temptation to religious minds. But all these sects were bound together by their common revolutionary aversion to the clergy, not only the wealthy, worldly, immoral, tyrannical, but

Heresy.

the decent but inert priesthood, who left the uninstructed souls of men to perish. In their turn, they were viewed with the most jealous hatred by the clergy, not merely on account of their heterodox and daring tenets, but as usurping their office, which themselves had almost let fall from their hands. We have seen the extent to which they prevailed; nothing less might be apprehended, (unless coerced by the obedient temporal power, and no other measure seemed likely to succeed,) than a general revolt of the lower orders from the doctrines and rule of the hierarchy.

New languages.

At this time, too, the rude dialects which had been slowly forming by the breaking up of the Roman Latin and its fusion with the Teutonic, were growing into regular and distinct languages. Latin, the language of the Church, became less and less the language of the people. In proportion as the Roman or foreign element predominated, the services of the church, the speech in which all priests were supposed to be instructed, became more or less clear and intelligible. It was more so where the Latin maintained its ascendancy; but in the Teutonic or Sclavonian regions, even the priesthood had learned Latin imperfectly, if at all; and Latin had ceased to be the means of ordinary communication; it was a strange, obsolete, if still venerable language. Even in Italy, in Northern and Southern France, in England where the Norman French kept down to a certain extent the old free Anglo-Saxon (we must wait more than a century for Wyclyffe and Chaucer), in Spain, Latin was a kindred, indistinctly significant tongue, but not that of common use, not that of the field, the street, the market, or the fair. But vernacular teaching was in all quarters coetaneous with the new opinions; versions of the sacred writings, or parts of the sacred writings, into the young languages were at once the sign of their birth, and the instrument of their propagation. These languages had begun to speak, at least in poetry, and not only to the knightly aristocracy. The first sounds of Italian poetry were already heard in the Sicilian court of the young Frederick II.: Dante was ere long to come. The Provençal had made the nearest approach perhaps to a regular language; and Provence, as

has been seen, lent her Romaunt to the great anti-hierarchical movement. In France the Trouvères had in the last century begun their inexhaustible, immeasurable epopées; but these were as yet the luxuries of the court and the castle, heard no doubt by the people, but not what is fairly called popular poetry,[a] though here and there might even now be heard the tale or the fable. Germany, less poetical, was at once borrowing the knightly poems on Charlemagne, and King Arthur, and the Crusades; emulating France, reviving the old classical fables, among them that of Alexander: while in Walter the Falconer[b] are heard tones more menacing, more ominous of religious revolution, more daringly expressive of Teutonic independence.

But this gradual encroachment of the vernacular poetry on the Latin, the vain struggle of the Latin to maintain its mastery, the growth and influence of modern languages must be reserved for a later, more full, and consecutive inquiry.

St. Dominic and St. Francis.

Just at this juncture arose almost simultaneously, without concert, in different countries, two men wonderfully adapted to arrest and avert the danger which threatened the whole hierarchical system. One seized and, if he did not wrest from the hands of the enemy, turned against him with indefatigable force his own fatal arms, St. Dominic, the founder of the Friar Preachers. By him Christendom was at once overspread with a host of zealous, active, devoted men, whose function was popular instruction. They were gathered from every country, and spoke, therefore, every language and dialect. In a few years from the sierras of Spain to the steppes of Russia; from the Tiber to the Thames, the Trent, the Baltic Sea, the old faith, in its fullest mediæval, imaginative, inflexible rigour, was preached in almost every town

[a] See in the 22nd vol. of the Hist. Littéraire de la France the description and analysis of the innumerable Chansons de Geste, Poëmes d'Aventure. With all these were mingled up, both in Germany and France, as interminable hagiological romances, legends, and lives of saints, even the more modern Saints. See, *e. g.*, the French poem on Thomas à Becket, edited in the Berlin Transactions by M. Bekker.

[b] Lachman has edited the original Walter der Vogelweide with his usual industry; Simrock modernised him to the understanding of the less learned reader.

and hamlet. The Dominicans did not confine themselves to popular teaching: the more dangerous, if as yet not absolutely disloyal seats of the new learning, of inquiry, of intellectual movement, the universities, Bologna, Paris, Oxford are invaded, and compelled to admit these stern apostles of unswerving orthodoxy; their zeal soon overleaped the pale of Christendom: they plunge fearlessly into the remote darkness of heathen and Mohammedan lands, from whence come back rumours, which are constantly stirring the minds of their votaries, of wonderful conversions and not less wonderful martyrdoms.

The other, St. Francis of Assisi, was endowed with that fervour of mystic devotion, which spread like an epidemic with irresistible contagion among the lower orders throughout Christendom; it was a superstition, but a superstition which had such an earnestness, warmth, tenderness, as to raise the religious feeling to an intense but gentle passion; it supplied a never-failing counter excitement to rebellious reasoning, which gladly fell asleep again on its bosom. After the death of its author and example, it raised a new object of adoration, more near, more familiar, and second only, if second, to the Redeemer himself. Jesus was supposed to have lived again in St. Francis with at least as bright a halo of miracle around him, in absolute, almost surpassing perfection.

In one important respect the founders of these new orders absolutely agreed, in their entire identification with the lowest of mankind. At first amicable, afterwards emulous, eventually hostile, they, or rather their Orders, rivalled each other in sinking below poverty into beggary. They were to live upon alms; the coarsest imaginable dress, the hardest fare, the narrowest cell, was to keep them down to the level of the humblest. Though Dominic himself was of high birth, and many of his followers of noble blood, St. Francis of decent even wealthy parentage, according to the irrepealable constitution of both orders, they were still to be the poorest of mankind, instructing or consorting in religious fellowship with the very meanest outcasts of society. Both the new Orders differed in the same manner, and greatly to the advantage of the

hierarchical faith, from the old monkish institutions. Their primary object was not the salvation of the individual monk, but the salvation of others through him. Though, therefore, their rules within their monasteries were strictly and severely monastic, bound by the common vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, seclusion was no part of their discipline. Their business was abroad rather than at home; their dwelling was not like that of the old Benedictines or others, in the uncultivated swamps and forests of the North, on the dreary Apennine, or the exhausted soil of Italy, in order to subdue their bodies, and occupy their dangerously unoccupied time, merely as a secondary consequence to compel the desert into fertile land. Their work was among their fellow men; in the village, in the town, in the city, in the market, even in the camp. In every Dominican convent the Superior had the power to dispense even with the ordinary internal discipline, if he thought the brother might be more usefully employed in his special avocation of a Preacher. It might seem the ambition of these men, instead of cooping up a chosen few in high-walled and secure monasteries, to subdue the whole world into one vast cloister; monastic Christianity would no longer flee the world, it would subjugate it, or win it by gentle violence.

Dominic a Spaniard.

In Dominic Spain began to exercise that remarkable influence over Latin Christianity, to display that peculiar character which culminated as it were in Ignatius Loyola, in Philip II., and in Torquemada, of which the code of the Inquisition was the statutary law; of which Calderon was the poet. The life of every devout Spaniard was a perpetual crusade. By temperament and by position he was in constant adventurous warfare against the enemies of the Cross: hatred of the Jew, of the Mohammedan, was the herrban under which he served; it was the oath of his chivalry: that hatred, in all its intensity, was soon and easily extended to the heretic. Hereafter it was to comprehend the heathen Mexican, the Peruvian. St. Dominic was, as it were, a Cortez, bound by his sense of duty, urged by an inward voice, to invade older Christendom. And Dominic was a man of as profound sagacity

as of adventurous enthusiasm. He intuitively perceived, or the circumstances of his early career forced upon him, the necessities of the age, and showed him the arms in which himself and his forces must be arrayed to achieve their conquest.

Birth. St. Dominic was born in 1170, in the village of Calaroga, between Aranda and Osma, in Old Castile. His parents were of noble name, that of Guzman, if not of noble race.[c] Prophecies (we must not disdain legend, though manifest legend) proclaimed his birth. It was a tenet of his disciples that he was born without original sin, sanctified in his mother's womb. His mother dreamed that she bore a dog with a torch in his mouth, which set the world on fire. His votaries borrowed too the old classical fable; the bees settled on his lips foreshowing his exquisite eloquence. Even in his infancy, his severe nature, among other wonders, began to betray itself. He crept from his soft couch to lie on the hard cold ground. The first part of his education Dominic received from his uncle, a churchman at Gamiel d'Izan. At fifteen years old he was sent to the university of Palencia; he studied, chiefly theology, for ten years. He was laborious, devout, abstemious. Two stories are recorded, which show the dawn of religious strength in his character. During a famine, he sold his clothes to feed the poor: he offered in compassion to a woman who deplored the slavery of her brother to the Moors, to be sold for his redemption.[d] He had not what may be strictly called a monastic training. The Bishop of Osma had changed his chapter into regular canons, those who lived in common, and under a rule approaching to a monastic institute. Dominic became a canon in this rigorous house: there he soon excelled the others in austerity. This was in his twenty-fifth year: he remained in Osma, not much known, for nine years longer. Diego de Azevedo had succeeded to

[c] This point is contested. The Father Bremond wrote to confute the Bollandists, who had cast a profane doubt on the noble descent of Dominic.

[d] The Chapter of his order was shocked by, and carefully erased from the authorised Legend of the Saint, a passage, "Ubi semetipsum asserit licet in integritate carnis divinâ gratiâ conservatum, nondum illam imperfectionem evadere potuisse, quia magis afficiebatur juvencularum colloquiis quam affatibus vetularum."—Apud Bolland. c. 1.

the Bishopric of Osma. He was a prelate of great ability, and of strong religious enthusiasm. He was sent to Denmark to negotiate the marriage of Alfonso VIII. of Castile, with a princess of that kingdom. He chose the congenial Dominic as his companion. No sooner had they crossed the Pyrenees than they found themselves in the midst of the Albigensian heresy; they could not close their eyes to the contempt into which the clergy had fallen, or on the prosperity of the sectarians; their very host at Toulouse was an Albigensian; Dominic is said to have converted him before the morning. In Languedoc. A.D. 1203.

The mission of the Bishop in Denmark was frustrated by the unexpected death of the Princess. Before he returned to Spain, Azevedo, with his companion, resolved upon a pilgrimage to Rome. The character of the Bishop of Osma appears from his proposal to Pope Innocent. He wished to abandon his tranquil bishopric, and to devote himself to the perilous life of a missionary, among the Cumans and fierce people which occupied part of Hungary, or in some other infidel country. That Dominic would have been his companion in this adventurous spiritual enterprise none can doubt. Innocent commanded the Bishop to return to his diocese: on their way the Bishop and Dominic stopped at Montpellier. There, as has been said, they encountered in all their pomp the three Legates of the Pope, Abbot Arnold, the Brother Raoul, and Peter of Castelnau. The Legates were returning discomfited, and almost desperate, from their progress in Languedoc. Then it was that Dominic uttered his bold and memorable rebuke: "It is not by the display of power and pomp, cavalcades of retainers, and richly houseled palfreys, by gorgeous apparel, that the heretics win proselytes; it is by zealous preaching, by apostolic humility, by austerity, by seeming, it is true, but yet seeming holiness. Zeal must be met by zeal, humility by humility, false sanctity by real sanctity; preaching falsehood by preaching truth." From that day Dominic devoted himself to preaching the religion which he believed. Even the Legates were for a time put to shame A.D. 1205.

by his precept and example, dismissed their splendid equipages, and set forth with bare feet; yet if with some humility of dress and demeanour, with none of language or of heart. As the preacher of orthodoxy, Dominic is said, in the pulpit, at the conference, to have argued with irresistible force: but his mission at last seems to have made no profound impression on the obstinate unbelievers. Ere long the Bishop Azevedo retired to Osma and died. Dominic remained alone.

But now the murder of Peter of Castelnau roused other powers and other passions. That more irresistible preacher, the sword of the Crusader, was sent forth: it becomes impossible to discriminate between the successes of one and of the other. The voice of the Apostle is drowned in the din of war; even the conduct of Dominic himself, the manner in which he bore himself amidst these unevangelic allies, is clouded with doubt and uncertainty. His career is darkened too by the splendour of miracle, with which it is invested. These miracles must not be passed by: they are largely borrowed from the life of the Saviour, and those of the Saints; they sometimes sink into the ludicrous. A schedule, which he had written during one conference, of scriptural proofs, leaped out of the fire, while the discriminating flames consumed the writings of his adversaries. He exorcised the devil who possessed three noble matrons, in the shape of a great black cat with large black eyes, who at last ran up the bell-rope and disappeared. A lady of extreme beauty wished to leave her monastery, and resisted all the preacher's arguments. She blew her nose, it remained in the handkerchief. Horror-stricken, she implored the prayers of Dominic: at his intercession the nose resumed its place; the lady remained in the convent. Dominic raised the dead, frequently fed his disciples in a manner even more wonderful than the Lord in the desert.[c] His miracles equal, if not transcend those in the Gospel. It must indeed have been a stubborn generation, to need besides these wonders the sword of Simon de Montfort.

Miracles.

[c] All these and much more may be found in the lives of St. Dominic, in the Bollandists and elsewhere.

Throughout the Crusade Dominic is lost to the sight: he is hardly, if at all, noticed by historian or poet. It was not till the century after his death that his sterner followers boast of his presence, if not of his activity, in exciting the savage soldiery in the day of battle. He marches unarmed in the van of the army with the cross in his hands, and escapes unhurt. The cross was shown pierced everywhere with arrows or javelins, only the form of the Saviour himself uninjured. In modern times there comes another change over the history of St. Dominic; that, of which his cotemporaries were silent, which the next generation blazoned forth as a boast, is now become a grave imputation. In later writings, his more prudent admirers assert, that he never appeared in the field of battle; he was but once with the armies, during the great victory of Simon de Montfort, at Muret; and then he remained within the city in fervent and uninterrupted prayer. All, perhaps, that is certainly known is that he showed no disapprobation of the character or of the deeds of Simon de Montfort. He obeyed his call to bless the marriage of his son, and the baptism of his daughter. Dominic in war.

So, too, the presence of St. Dominic on the tribunals, where the unhappy heretics were tried for their lives, and the part which he took in delivering them over to the secular arm to be burned by hundreds, is in the same manner, according to the date of the biographer, a cause of pride or shame, is boldly vaunted, or tenderly disguised and gently doubted. The more charitable silence at least of the earlier writers is sternly repudiated by the Bollandists, who will not allow the milder sense to be given to the title "Persecutor of Heretics," assigned to him by the Inquisition of Toulouse. They quote St. Thomas of Aquino as an irrefragable authority on the duty of burning heretics. They refute the more tolerant argument by a long line of glorious bishops who have urged or assisted at holocausts of victims. "What glory, splendour, and dignity (bursts forth Malvendia) belongs to the Order of Preachers, words cannot express! for the Holy Inquisition owes its origin to St. Dominic, and was propagated by his faithful In the tribunals.

followers. By them heretics of all kinds, the innovators and corruptors of sound doctrine, were destroyed, unless they would recant, by fire and sword; or at least awed, banished, put to the rout." The title of Dominic, in its fiercer sense, even rests on Papal authority, that of Sixtus V. in his bull for the canonization of Peter Martyr.[f] That indeed which in modern days is alleged in proof of his mercy, rather implies his habitual attendance on such scenes without showing the same mercy. Once he interfered to save a victim, in whom he saw some hopes of reconciliation, from the flames.[g] Calmer inquiry must rob him of or release him from these questionable glories. His heroic acts, as moving in the van of bloody battles; his title of Founder of the Inquisition, belong to legend not to history. It is his Order which has thrown back its aggrandising splendour on St. Dominic. So far was the Church from bowing down before the transcendant powers and holiness of the future saints, or discerning with instantaneous sagacity the value of these new allies, both the Father of the Friar Preachers and the Father of the Minorites were at first received with cold suspicion or neglect at Rome; the foundation of the two new Orders was extorted from the reluctant Innocent. The Third Lateran Council had prohibited the establishment of new orders. Well-timed and irresistible visions (the counsels of wiser and more far-sighted men) enlightened the Pope, and gently impelled him to open his eyes, and to yield to the revocation of his unwise judgment. Dominic returned from Rome, before the battle of Muret, armed with the Papal permission to enrol the Order of Friar Preachers.

Foundation of Preachers.

The earliest foundation of Dominic had been a convent of females. He had observed that the noble ladies of Languedoc listened, especially in early life, with too eager ears to the preachers of heretical doctrines. At Prouille, at the foot of the Pyrenees, between Fanjaux and Monreal, he opened his retreat,

[f] "Jam vero ne recrudesceret in posteris malum, aut impia hæresis repullularet ex cineribus suis saluberrimo consilio Romani Pontificis Sanctæ Inquisitionis officium austeri S. Dominici instituerunt, eidemque B viro et Fratribus Prædicatoribus præcipue detulerunt."—Reichinius (a Dominican); Præf. in Monetam. p. xxxi.

[g] La Cordaire, S. Dominique.

where their virgin minds might be safe from the dangerous contagion. The first monastery of the Order of Preachers was that of St. Ronain, near Toulouse. The brotherhood consisted but of sixteen, most of them natives of Languedoc, some Spaniards, one Englishman. It is remarkable, however, that the Order, founded for the suppression of heresy by preaching in Languedoc, was hardly organised before it left the chosen scene of its labours. Instead of fixing on Toulouse or any of the cities of Provence as the centre of his operations, Dominic was seized with the ambition of converting the world. Rome, Bologna, Paris, were to be the seats of his power. Exactly four years after the battle of Muret he abandoned Languedoc for ever. His sagacious mind might perhaps anticipate the unfavourable change, the fall if not the death of De Montfort, the return of Count Raymond as the deliverer to his patrimonial city. But even the stern Spanish mind might be revolted by the horrors of the Albigensian war; he may have been struck by the common grief for the fall of the noble Spanish King of Arragon. At all events, the preacher by the word in Languedoc could play but a secondary part to the preacher by the sword; and now that it was manifestly not conversion, but conquest, not the re-establishment of the Church, but the destruction of the liberties of the land, not the subjugation of the heretical Count of Toulouse, but the expulsion from their ancestral throne of the old princely house, and the substitution of a foreign usurper, the Castilian might feel shame and compunction, even the Christian might be reluctant to connect the Catholic faith which he would preach with all the deeds of a savage soldiery. The parting address ascribed to St. Dominic is not quite consistent with this more generous and charitable view of his conduct. It is a terrible menace rather than gentle regret or mild reproof. At the convent of Prouille, after high mass, he thus spake: "For many years I have spoken to you with tenderness, with prayers, and tears; but according to the proverb of my country, where the benediction has no effect, the rod may have much. Behold, now, we rouse up against you princes and prelates, nations

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and kingdoms! Many shall perish by the sword. The land shall be ravaged, walls thrown down; and you, alas! reduced to slavery. So shall the chastisement do that which the blessing and which mildness could not do." [h]

Dominic himself took up his residence in Rome.[i] His success as a preacher was unrivalled. His followers began to spread rumours of the miracles which he wrought. The Pope Honorius III. appointed him to the high office, since perpetuated among his spiritual descendants, Master of the Sacred Palace. He was held in the highest honour by the aged Cardinal Ugolino, the future Pope Gregory IX. For the propagation of his Order this residence in Rome was a master-stroke of policy. Of the devout pilgrims to Rome, men of all countries in Christendom, the most devout were most enraptured by the eloquence of Dominic. Few but must feel that it was a preaching Order which was wanted in every part of the Christian world. Dominic was gifted with that rare power, even in those times, of infusing a profound and enduring devotion to one object. Once within the magic circle, the enthralled disciple either lost all desire to leave it, or, if he struggled, Dominic seized him and dragged him back, now an unreluctant captive, by awe, by persuasion, by conviction, by what was believed to be miracle, which might be holy art, or the bold and ready use of casual but natural circumstances. "God has never," as he revealed in secret—a secret not likely to be religiously kept—to the Abbot of Casamare, "refused me anything that I have prayed for." When he prayed for the conversion of Conrad the Teutonic, was Conrad left ignorant that he had to resist the prayers of one whom God had thus endowed with irresistible efficacy of prayer? [k] Thus were preachers rapidly enlisted and dispersed throughout the world, speaking every language in Christendom. Two Poles, Hyacinth and Ceslas, carried the rules of the order to their own country. Dominican convents were founded at Cracow, even as far as Kiow.

[h] M.S. de Prouille, published by Père Perrin: quoted by La Cordaire, Vie de S. Dominique, p. 404.

[i] He first established the monastery of San Sisto on the Cœlian Hill, afterward that of Santa Sabina.

[k] La Cordaire, p. 539.

Dominic had judged wisely and not too daringly in embracing the world as the scene of his labours. In the year 1220, seven years after he had left Languedoc, he stood, as the Master-General of his Order, at the head of an assembly at Bologna. Italy, Spain, Provence, France, Germany, Poland, had now their Dominican convents; the voices of Dominican preachers had penetrated into every land. But the great question of holding property or dependence on the casual support of mendicancy was still undecided. Dominic had accepted landed endowments: in Languedoc he held a grant of tithes from Fulk Bishop of Toulouse. But the Order of St. Francis, of which absolute poverty was the vital rule, was now rising with simultaneous rapidity. Though both the founders of the new Orders and the brethren of the Orders had professed and displayed the most perfect mutual respect, and even amity (twice, it was said, they had met, with great marks of reverence and esteem), yet both true policy and devout ambition might reveal to the prudent as well as ardent Dominic that the vow of absolute poverty would give the Franciscans an immeasurable superiority in popular estimation. His followers must not be trammelled with worldly wealth, or be outdone in any point of austerity by those of St. Francis. The universal suffrage was for the vow of poverty in the strongest sense, the renunciation of all property by the Order as well as by the individual Brother. How long, how steadfastly, that vow was kept by either Order will appear in the course of our history.

Rapid progress of the Order. A.D. 1220.

The second great assembly of the Order was held shortly before the death of Dominic. The Order was now distributed into eight provinces. Spain, the first in rank, Provence, France, Lombardy, Rome, Germany, Hungary, and England. In England the Prior Gilbert had landed with fourteen friars. Gilbert preached before the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Primate, Stephen Langton, was so edified by his eloquence, that he at once gave full licence to preach throughout the land. Monasteries rose at Canterbury, London, Oxford.

A.D. 1221.

But the great strength of these two new Orders was,

besides the communities of friars and nuns (each associated with itself a kindred female Order), the establishment of a third, a wider and more secular community, who were bound to the two former by bonds of close association, by reverence and implicit obedience, and were thus always ready to maintain the interests, to admire and to propagate the wonders, to subserve in every way the advancement of the higher disciples of St. Dominic or St. Francis. They were men or women, old or young, married or unmarried, bound by none of the monastic vows, but deeply imbued with the monastic, with the corporate spirit; taught to observe all holy days, fasts, vigils, with the utmost rigour, inured to constant prayer and attendance on divine worship. They were organised, each under his own prior; they crowded as a duty, as a privilege, into the church wherever a Dominican ascended the pulpit, predisposed, almost compelled, if compulsion were necessary, to admire, to applaud at least by rapt attention. Thus the Order spread not merely by its own perpetual influence and unwearied activity; it had everywhere a vast host of votaries wedded to its interests, full to fanaticism of its corporate spirit, bound to receive hospitably or ostentatiously their wandering preachers, to announce, to trumpet abroad, to propagate the fame of their eloquence, to spread belief in their miracles, to lavish alms upon them, to fight in their cause. This lay coadjutory, these Tertiaries, as they were called, or among the Dominicans, the Soldiers of Jesus Christ as not altogether secluded from the world, acted more widely and more subtly upon the world. Their rules were not rigidly laid down till by the seventh Master of the Order, Munion de Zamora; it was then approved by Popes.[m]

Tertiaries.

Dominic died August 6th, 1221. He was taken ill at Venice, removed with difficulty to Bologna, where he expired with saintly resignation.

Death.

His canonisation followed rapidly on his death.

[m] Among the special privileges of the Order (in the bull of Honorius) was that in the time of interdict (so common were interdicts now become) the Order might still celebrate mass with low voices, without bells. Conceive the influence thus obtained in a religious land, every where else deprived of all its holy services.

Gregory IX., who in his internecine war with the Emperor Frederick II. had found the advantage of these faithful, restless, unscrupulous allies in the realm, in the camp, almost in the palace of his adversary, was not the man to pause or to hesitate in his grateful acknowledgments or prodigal reward. "I no more doubt," said the Pope, "the sanctity of Dominic than that of St. Peter or St. Paul." In the bull of canonisation, Dominic is elaborately described as riding in the four-horsed chariot of the Gospel, as it were seated behind the four Evangelists, (or rather in the four chariots of Zechariah, long interpreted as signifying the four Evangelists,) holding in his hand the irresistible bow of the Divine Word. Canonisation.

The admiration of their founder, if it rose not with the Dominicans so absolutely into divine adoration as with the Franciscans, yet bordered close upon it. He, too, was so closely approximated to the Saviour as to be placed nearly on an equality. The Virgin Mother herself, the special protectress of the sons of Dominic, might almost seem to sanction their bold raptures of spiritual adulation, from which our most fervent piety might shrink as wild profanation. Dominic was the adopted son of the Blessed Virgin.[n]

And this was part of the creed maintained by an Order

[n] There is a strange story of the especial protection extended over the Order by the Virgin. It might seem singularly ill adapted for painting, but painting has nevertheless ventured, at least partially, to represent it. To this the modesty of more modern manners, perhaps not less real though more scrupulous respect (respect which falls far short of worship), proscribes more than an allusion: The Virgin is represented with the whole countless host of Dominicans crowded under her dress. In the vision of St. Brigitta, the Virgin herself is made to sanction this awful confusion. "Ego, dulcissima filia, istos duos filios genui, unum naturaliter generando, alium amabiliter et dulciter adoptando . . . Sicut hic Filius a me naturaliter et *æternaliter* genitus, assumptâ naturâ humanâ, in omnibus fuit perfectissime obediens mihi, usque ad mortem, sic filius meus adoptivus Dominicus. Omnia, quæ operatus est ab infantiâ suâ usque ad terminum vitæ suæ, fuerunt angulata secundum obedientiam præceptorum meorum, nec unquam semel fuit transgressus quodcunque præceptum meum, quia virginitatem corporis et animi illibatam servavit, et gratiam baptismi quo spiritualiter renatus est, semper conservavit." The parallel goes on between the apostles of the Lord and the brethren of S. Dominic.—Apud Bolland, xlv. p. 844. See also a passage about the Virgin in La Cordaire, p. 234. In another Vita S. Dominici, apud Bolland, Aug. 4, is this:—There was a prophetic picture at Venice, in which appear S. Paul and S. Dominic. Under the latter, "Facilius itur per istum." The comment of the biographer is: "Doctrina Pauli sicut et ceterorum apostolorum erat doctrina inducens ad fidem et observationem præceptorum, doctrina Dominici ad observantiam consiliorum, et ideo facilius per ipsum itur ad Christum."—c. vii.

which under its fourth general, John of Wildeshausen (in Westphalia), in their Chapter-General at Bourdeaux, reckoned its monasteries at the number of four hundred and seventy. In Spain thirty-five, in France fifty-two, in Germany fifty-two, in Tuscany thirty-two, in Lombardy forty-six, in Hungary thirty, in Poland thirty-six, in Denmark twenty-eight, in England forty. They were spreading into Asia, into heathen or Saracen lands, into Palestine, Greece, Crete, Abyssinia. Nor is it their number alone which grows with such wonderful fertility. They are not content with the popular mind. They invade the high places of human intellect: they are disputing the mastery in the Universities of Italy and Germany, in Cologne, Paris, and in Oxford. Before long they are to claim two of the greatest luminaries of the scholastic philosophy, Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquino.

CHAPTER X.

ST. FRANCIS.[a]

ST. FRANCIS was born in the romantic town of Assisi, of a family, the Bernardini, engaged in trade. His birth took place while his father was on a mercantile journey in France; on his return his new-born son was baptised by the name of Francis.[b] His mother, Picca, loved him with all a mother's tenderness for her firstborn. He received the earliest rudiments of instruction from the clergy of the parish of St. George: he was soon taken to assist his father in his trade. The father, a hard, money-making man, was shocked at first by the vanity and prodigality of his son. The young Francis gave banquets to his juvenile friends, dressed splendidly, and the streets of Assisi rang with the songs and revels of the joyous crew; but even then his bounty to the poor formed a large part of his generous wastefulness. He was taken captive in one of the petty wars which had broken out between Perugia and Assisi, and remained a year in prison. He was then seized with a violent illness: when he rose from his bed nature looked cold and dreary; he began to feel disgust to the world. The stirrings of some great but yet undefined purpose were already awake within him. He began to see visions, but as yet they were of war and

Birth and youth. A.D. 1182.

[a] The vast annals of the Franciscan Order, by Lucas Wadding, in seventeen folio volumes, are the great authority: for S. Francis himself the life by S. Bonaventura. I have much used the Chronique de l'Ordre du Père S. François, in quaint old French (the original is in Portuguese, by Marco di Lisbona), Paris, 1623. I have an epic poem, in twenty-five cantos, a kind of religious plagiary of Tasso, San Francisco, ó Gierusalemme Celeste Acquistata, by Agostino Gallucci (1617). The author makes S. Francis subdue the Wickliffites. There is a modern life by M. Malan.

[b] When the disciples of S. Francis were fully possessed with the conformity of their founder with the Saviour, the legend grew up, assimilating his birth to that of the Lord. A prophetess foreshowed it; he was born by divine suggestion in a stable; angels rejoiced; even peace and goodwill were announced, though by a human voice. An angel, like old Simeon, bore him at the font. And all this is gravely related by a biographer of the 19th century, M. Malan.

glory: the soldier was not dead in his heart. He determined to follow the fortunes of a youthful poor knight who was setting out to fight under the banner of the "Gentle Count," Walter of Brienne, against the hated Germans. At Spoleto he again fell ill; his feverish visions took another turn. Francis now felt upon him that profound religious thraldom which he was never to break, never to desire to break. His whole soul became deliberately, calmly, extatic faith. He began to talk mysteriously of his future bride—that bride was Poverty. He resolved never to refuse alms to a poor person. He found his way to Rome, threw down all he possessed, no costly offering, on the altar of St. Peter. On his return he joined a troop of beggars, and exchanged his dress for the rags of the filthiest among them. His mother heard and beheld all his strange acts with a tender and prophetic admiration. To a steady trader like the father it was folly if not madness. He was sent with a valuable bale of goods to sell at Foligno. On his return he threw all the money down at the feet of the priest of St. Damian to rebuild his church, as well as the price of his horse, which he likewise sold. The priest refused the gift. In the eyes of the father this was dishonesty as well as folly. Francis concealed himself in a cave, where he lay hid for a month in solitary prayer. He returned to Assisi, looking so wild and haggard that the rabble hooted him as he passed and pelted him with mire and stones. The gentle Francis appeared to rejoice in every persecution. The indignant father shut him up in a dark chamber, from which, after a time, he was released by the tender solicitude of his mother. Bernardini now despaired of his unprofitable and intractable son, whom he suspected of alienating other sums besides that which he had received for the cloth and the horse. He cited him before the magistrates to compel him to abandon all rights on his patrimony, which he was disposed to squander in this thriftless manner. Francis declared that he was a servant of God, and declined the jurisdiction of the civil magistrate. The cause came before the Bishop. The Bishop earnestly exhorted Francis to yield up to his father any money which he might possess, or to which he

was entitled. "It might be ungodly gain, and so unfit to be applied to holy uses." "I will give up the very clothes I wear," replied the enthusiast, encouraged by the gentle demeanour of the Bishop. He stripped himself entirely naked.[c] "Peter Bernardini was my father; I have now but one father, he that is in heaven." The audience burst into tears; the Bishop threw his mantle over him and ordered an old coarse dress of an artisan to be brought: he then received Francis into his service.

Gives up his inheritance. A.D. 1206. Ætat. 25.

Francis was now wedded to Poverty; but poverty he would only love in its basest form—mendicancy. He wandered abroad, was ill used by robbers; on his escape received from an old friend at Gubbio a hermit's attire, a short tunic, a leathern girdle, a staff and slippers. He begged at the gates of monasteries; he discharged the most menial offices. With even more profound devotion he dedicated himself for some time in the hospital at Gubbio to that unhappy race of beings whom even Christianity was constrained to banish from the social pale—the lepers.[d] He tended them with more than necessary affectionateness, washed their feet, dressed their sores, and is said to have wrought miraculous cures among them. The moral miracle of his charity toward them is a more certain and more affecting proof of his true Christianity of heart. It was an especial charge to the brethren of St. Francis of Assisi to choose these outcasts of humanity as the objects of their peculiar care.[e]

Embraces mendicancy.

On his return to Assisi he employed himself in the restoration of the church of St. Damian. "Whoever will give me one stone shall have one prayer; whoever two, two; three, three." The people mocked, but Francis went on carrying the stones in his own hands, and the church

[c] According to S. Bonaventura, he had haircloth under his dress.

[d] There is something singularly affecting in the service of the Church for the seclusion of the lepers, whose number is as sure a proof of the wretchedness of those times, as the care of them of the charity. The stern duty of looking to the public welfare is tempered with exquisite compassion for the victims of this loathsome disease. The service may be found—it is worth seeking for—in Martene de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus. It is quoted by M. Malan.

[e] S. Bonaventura says that he healed one leper with a kiss: "Nescio quidnam horum magis sit admirandum, an humilitatis profunditas in osculo tam benigno, an virtutis præclaritas in miraculo tam stupendo."—Vit. S. Francisci.

began to rise. He refused all food which he did not obtain by begging. His father reproached him and uttered his malediction. He took a beggar of the basest class: "Be thou my father and give me thy blessing." But so successful was he in awakening the charity of the inhabitants of Assisi, that not only the church of St. Damian but two others, St. Peter and St. Maria dei Angeli (called the Portiuncula), through his means arose out of their ruins to decency and even splendour. One day, in the church of St. Maria dei Angeli, he heard the text, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses. Neither scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves." He threw away his wallet, his staff, and his shoes, put on the coarsest dark grey tunic, bound himself with a cord, and set out through the city calling all to repentance.

This strange but fervent piety of Francis could not but, in that age, kindle the zeal of others. Wonder grew into admiration, admiration into emulation, emulation into a blind following of his footsteps. Disciples, one by one (the first are carefully recorded), began to gather round him. He retired with them to a lonely spot in the bend of the river, called Rivo Torto. A rule was wanting for the young brotherhood. Thrice upon the altar he opened the Gospels, which perhaps were accustomed to be opened on these passages.[f] He read three texts in reverence for the Holy Trinity. The first was, "If thou wilt be perfect, sell all thou hast and give to the poor;"[g] the second, "Take nothing for your journey;"[h] the third, "If any one would come after me, let him take up his cross and follow me."[i] Francis made the sign of the cross and sent forth his followers into the neighbouring cities, as if to divide the world, to the east and west, the north and south. They re-assembled at Rivo Torto and determined to go to Rome to obtain the authority of the Pope for the foundation of their order. On the way they met a knight in arms. "Angelo," said St. Francis, "instead of that baldrick thou shalt gird thee with a cord; for thy sword

[f] The poet gives the date, St. Luke's day, Oct. 18, 1212.

[g] Matt. xix. 21.

[h] Mark vi. 8.

[i] Matt. xvi. 24.

thou shalt take the cross of Christ; for the spurs, the dirt and mire." Angelo made up the mystic number of twelve, which the profound piety of his followers alleged as a new similitude to the Lord.[k]

Innocent III. was walking on the terrace of the Lateran when a mendicant of the meanest appearance presented himself, proposing to convert the world by poverty and humility. The haughty Pontiff dismissed him with contempt. But a vision, says the legend, doubtless more grave deliberation and inquiry, suggested that such an Order might meet the heretics on their own ground; the Poor Men of the Church might out-labour and out-suffer the Poor Men of Lyons. He sent for Francis, received him in the midst of the cardinals, and listened to his proposal for his new Order. Some of the cardinals objected the difficulty, the impossibility of the vows. "To suppose that anything is difficult or impossible with God," said the Cardinal Bishop of St. Sabina, "is to blaspheme Christ and his Gospel."

The Order was now founded; the Benedictines of Monte Subiaco gave them a church, called, like that near Assisi, St. Maria dei Angeli, or de la Portiuncula. In the difficulty, the seeming impossibility of the vows was their strength. The three vital principles of the Order were chastity, poverty, obedience. For chastity, no one was to speak with a woman alone, except the few who might safely do so (from age or severity of character), and that was to urge penitence or give spiritual counsel. Poverty was not only the renunciation of all possessions but of all property, even in the clothes they wore, in the cord which girt them—even in their breviaries.[m] Money was, as it were, infected; they might on no account receive it in alms except (the sole exception) to aid a sick brother; no brother might ride if he had power to walk. They were literally to fulfil the precept, if stricken on one cheek, to offer the other; if spoiled of part of their dress,

Foundation of the Order.

[k] It was at this period that he was said, or said himself that he was transported to heaven, into the actual presence of the Lord, who, according to the poem, gave him a plenary indulgence for himself and his followers:—

"E plenaria indulgenza oggi si dava."

c. vi. 41.

[m] At first, says S. Bonaventura, they had no books; their only book was the cross.

to yield up the rest. Obedience was urged not merely as obligatory and coercive: the deepest mutual love was to be the bond of the brotherhood.

The passionate fervour of the preaching, the mystic tenderness, the austere demeanour of Francis and his disciples, could not but work rapidly and profoundly among his female hearers. Clara, a noble virgin of Assisi, under the direction of St. Francis, had in the same manner to strive against the tender and affectionate worldliness, as she deemed it, of her family. But she tore herself from their love as from a sin, entered into a convent attached to the church of St. Damian, and became the mother of the poor sisterhood of St. Clare. Of Clara it is said that she never but once (and that to receive the blessing of the Pope) so lifted her eyelids that the colour of her eyes might be discerned. Clara practised mortifications more severe than any of her sex before. The life of the sisters was one long dreary penance; even their services were all sadness. The sisters who could read were to read the Hours, but without chanting. Those who could not read were not to learn to read. To the prayers of St. Clara it was attributed that, in later times, her own convent and the city of Assisi were preserved from the fierce Mohammedans which belonged to the army of Frederick II. The Order was confirmed by a bull of Innocent IV.

Francis, in the mean time, with his whole soul vowed to the service of God, set forth to subdue the world. He had hesitated between the contemplative and active life—prayer in the secluded monastery, or preaching the cross of Christ to mankind. The mission of love prevailed; his success and that of his ardent followers might seem to justify their resolution. They had divided the world, and some had already set forth into France and into Spain with the special design of converting the Miramamolin and his Mohammedan subjects. Everywhere they were heard with fanatic rapture. At their first chapter, held in the church of the Portiuncula, only three years after the scene at Rivo Torto, it was necessary to ordain provincial masters in Spain, Pro-

Foreign missions.

A.D. 1215.

vence, France and Germany: at a second chapter of the order in 1219 met five thousand brethren.

The holy ambition of St. Francis grew with his success. He determined to confront the great enemy of Christianity in his strength. He set off to preach to the Mohammedans of the East. The Christian army was encamped before Damietta. The sagacity of Francis anticipated from their discord, which he in vain endeavoured to reconcile, their defeat. His prophecy was too fully accomplished; but he determined not the less to proceed on his mission. On his way to the Saracen camp he met some sheep. It occurred to him, "I send you forth as sheep among the wolves." He was taken and carried before the Sultan. To the Sultan he boldly offered the way of salvation. He preached (in what language we are not told) the Holy Trinity and the Divine Saviour before these stern Unitarians. The Mohammedans reverence what they deem insanity as partaking of divine inspiration. The Sultan is said to have listened with respect; his grave face no doubt concealed his compassion. St. Francis offered to enter a great fire with the priests of Islam, and to set the truth of either faith on the issue. The Sultan replied that his priests would not willingly submit to this perilous trial. "I will enter alone," said Francis, "if, should I be burned, you will impute it to my sins; should I come forth alive, you will embrace the Gospel." The Sultan naturally declined these terms, as not quite fair towards his creed. But he offered rich presents to Francis (which the preacher of poverty rejected with utter disdain), and then sent him back in honour to the camp at Damietta. Francis passed through the Holy Land and the kingdom of Antioch, preaching and winning disciples, and then returned to Italy. His fame was now at its height, and wherever he went his wondering disciples saw perpetual miracle. In this respect the life of the Saviour is far surpassed by that of St. Francis.

St. Francis in the East. A.D. 1219.

The Order soon had its martyrs. The Mohammedan Moors of Africa were fiercer than those of Egypt. Five monks, after preaching without success to the Saracens of Seville, crossed into Africa. After many

Martyrs.

adventures (in one of which during an expedition against the Moorish tribes of the interior, Friar Berard struck water from the desert rock, like Moses) they were offered wealth, beautiful wives, and honours if they would embrace Mohammedanism. They spat on the ground in contempt of the miscreant offer. The King himself clove the head of one of them with a sword; the rest were despatched in horrible torments.[n] St. Francis received the sad intelligence with triumph, and broke forth in gratulations to the convent of Alonquir, which had thus produced the first purple flowers of martyrdom.

Character of St. Francis.

This was no hardness, or want of compassion, but the counterworking of a stronger, more passionate emotion. Of all saints, St. Francis was the most blameless and gentle. In Dominic and in his disciples all was still rigorous, cold, argumentative; something remained of the crusader's fierceness, the Spaniard's haughty humility, the inquisitor's stern suppression of all gentler feelings, the polemic sternness. Whether Francis would have burned heretics, happily we know not, but he would willingly have been burned for them: himself excessive in austerities, he would at times mitigate the austerity of others. Francis was emphatically the Saint of the people; of a poetic people, like the Italians. Those who were hereafter to chant the Paradise of Dante, or the softer stanzas of Tasso, might well be enamoured of the ruder devotional strains of the mystic poetry of the whole life of St. Francis. The lowest of the low might find consolation, a kind of pride, in the self-abasement of St. Francis even beneath the meanest. The very name of his disciples, the Friar Minors, implied their humility. In his own eyes (says his most pious successor) he was but a sinner, while in truth he was the mirror and splendour of holiness. It was revealed, says the same Bonaventura, to a Brother that the throne of one of the angels, who fell from pride, was reserved for Francis, who was glorified by humility. If the heart of the poorest was touched by the brotherhood in poverty and

[n] See on these martyrs Southey's ballad:

What news, O Queen Orraca,
Of the martyrs five what news?
Does the bloody Miramamolin
Their burial yet refuse?

lowliness of such a saint, how was his imagination kindled by his mystic strains? St. Francis is among the oldest vernacular poets of Italy.[o] His poetry, indeed, is but a long passionate ejaculation of love to the Redeemer in rude metre; it has not even the order and completeness of a hymn: it is a sort of plaintive variation on one simple melody; an echo of the same tender words, multiplied again and again, it might be fancied, by the voices in the cloister walls. But his ordinary speech is more poetical than his poetry. In his peculiar language he addresses all animate, even inanimate, creatures as his brothers; not merely the birds and beasts; he had an especial fondness for lambs and larks, as the images of the Lamb of God and of the cherubim in heaven.[p] I know not if it be among the Conformities, but the only malediction I find him to have uttered was against a fierce swine which had killed a young lamb. Of his intercourse with these mute animals, we are told many pretty particularities, some of them miraculous. But his poetic impersonation went beyond this. When the surgeon was about to cauterise him, he said, "Fire, my brother, be thou discreet and gentle to me."[q] In one of his Italian hymns he speaks of his brother the sun, his sister the moon, his brother the wind, his sister the water.[r] No wonder that in this almost perpetual extatic state, unearthly music played around him, unearthly light shone round his path. When he died, he said, with exquisite simplicity, "Welcome, sister Death."[s] St. Francis himself, no doubt, was but unconsciously presumptuous, when he acted as under divine inspiration, even when he laid the groundwork for that assimilation of his own life to that of the Saviour, which was wrought up by his disciples, as it were, into a new Gospel, and superseded the old. His was the studious imitation of humility, not

[o] M. de Montalembert is eloquent, as usual, on his poetry.—Preface to "La Vie d'Elizabeth d'Hongrie."

[p] Bonaventura, c. viii.

[q] The words were, "Fratel fuoco, da Dio creato più bello, più attivo, e più giovevole d'ogni altro elemento, noi te mostra or nel cimento discreto e mite." —Vita (Fuligno), p. 15.

[r] "Laudato sia el Dio, mio Signore con tute le Creature; specialmente Messer lo frate Sole. . . . Laudato sia il mio Signore per suor Luna, per frate vento, per suor acqua."

[s] "Ben venga la sorella morte."

the emulous approximation of pride, even of pride disguised from himself; such profaneness entered not into his thought. His life might seem a religious trance. The mysticism so absolutely absorbed him as to make him unconscious, as it were, of the presence of his body. Incessantly active as was his life, it was a kind of paroxysmal activity, constantly collapsing into what might seem a kind of suspended animation of the corporeal functions.[t] It was even said that he underwent a kind of visible and glorious transfiguration.[u] But with what wonderful force must all this have worked upon the world, the popular world around him. About three years before his death, with the permission of the Pope, he celebrated the Nativity of the Lord in a new way. A manger was prepared, the whole scene of the miraculous birth represented. The mass was interpolated before the prayers. St. Francis preached on the Nativity. The angelic choirs were heard; a wondering disciple declared that he saw a beautiful child reposing in the manger.

The Order of St. Francis had, and of necessity, its Tertiaries, like that of St. Dominic.[x] At his preaching, and that of his disciples, such multitudes would have crowded into the Order as to become dangerous and unmanageable. The whole population of one town, Canari in Umbria, offered themselves as disciples. The Tertiaries were called the Brethren of Penitence; they were to retain their social position in the world: but, first enjoined to discharge all their debts, and to make restitution of all unfair gains. They were then admitted to make a vow to keep the commandments of God, and to give satisfaction for any breach of which they might have been guilty. They could not leave the Order, except to embrace a religious life. Women were not admitted without the

[t] "E tanto in lei (in Gesu) sovente profondasi, tanto s' immerge, inabissa, e concentra, che assorto non vide, non ascolta, non sente, e se opera carnalmente, nol conosca, non sel rammenta." This state is thus illustrated: he was riding on an ass; he was almost torn in pieces by devout men and women shouting around him; he was utterly unconscious, like a dead man.—From a modern Vita di S. Francesco. Foligno, 1824.

[u] "Ad conspectum sublimis Seraph et humilis Crucifixi, fuit in vivæ formæ effigiem, vi quâdam deiformi et ignea transformatus; quemadmodum testati sunt, tactis sacrosanctis jurantes, qui palpaverunt, osculati sunt, et viderunt." —S. Bonaventura, in Vit. Minor. i.

[x] Chapter of Tertiaries, A.D. 1222; Chroniques, L. ii. c. xxxii.

consent of their husbands. The form and colour of their dress were prescribed, silk rigidly prohibited. They were to keep aloof from all public spectacles, dances, especially the theatre; to give nothing to actors, jugglers, or such profane persons. Their fasts were severe, but tempered with some lenity; their attendance at church constant. They were not to bear arms except in the cause of the Church of Rome, the Christian faith, or their country, and that at the licence of their ministers. On entering the Order, they were immediately to make their wills to prevent future litigation; they were to abstain from unnecessary oaths; they were to submit to penance, when imposed by their ministers.

But St. Francis had not yet attained his height even of worldly fame; he was yet to receive the last marks of his similitude to the Redeemer, to bear on his body actually and really the five wounds of the Redeemer. A.D. 1224.

That which was so gravely believed must be gravely related. In the solitude of Monte Alverno (a mountain which had been bestowed on the Order by a rich and pious votary, and where a magnificent church afterwards arose) Francis had retired to hold a solemn fast in honour of the Archangel Michael. He had again consulted the holy oracle. Thrice the Scriptures had been opened; thrice they opened on the Passion of the Lord. This was interpreted, that even in this life Francis was to be brought into some mysterious conformity with the death of the Saviour. One morning, while he was praying in an access of the most passionate devotion, he saw in a vision, or, as he supposed, in real being, a seraph with six wings. Amidst these wings appeared the likeness of the Crucified. Two wings arched over his head, two were stretched for flight, two veiled the body. As the apparition disappeared, it left upon his mind an indescribable mixture of delight and awe. On his body instantaneously appeared marks of the crucifixion, like those which he had beheld. Two black excrescences, in the form of nails, with the heads on one side, the points bent back on the other, had grown out of his hands and The Stigmata.

feet. There was a wound on his side, which frequently flowed with blood, and stained his garment. Francis endeavoured, in his extreme humility, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his disciples, to conceal this wonderful sight; but the wounds were seen, it is declared, at one time by fifty brethren. Countless miracles were ascribed to their power. The wound on his side Francis hid with peculiar care. But it was seen during his life, as it is asserted; the pious curiosity of his disciples pierced through every concealment. Pope Alexander IV. publicly declared that his own eyes had beheld the stigmata on the body of St. Francis. Two years after St. Francis died. He determined literally to realise the words of the Scripture, to leave the world naked as he entered it. His disciples might then, and did then, it is said, actually satisfy themselves as to these signs: to complete the parallel an incredulous Thomas was found to investigate the fact with suspicious scrutiny. It became an article of the Franciscan creed; though the now rival Order, the Dominicans, hinted rationalistic doubts, they were authoritatively rebuked. It became almost the creed of Christendom.[y]

Oct. 4, 1226.

Up to a certain period this studious conformity of the life of St. Francis with that of Christ, heightened, adorned, expanded, till it received its perfect form in the work of Bartholomew of Pisa, was promulgated by the emulous zeal of a host of disciples throughout the world. Those whose more reverential piety might take offence were few and silent: the declaration of Pope Alexander, the ardent protector of the Mendicant Friars, imposed it almost as an article of the Belief. With the Franciscans, and all under the dominion of the Francis-

Character of Franciscanism.

[y] The Dominican Jacob de Voragine assigns five causes for the stigmata; they in fact resolve themselves into the first, imagination. His illustrations, however, are chiefly from pregnant women, whose children resemble something which had violently impressed the mother's mind. He does not deny the fact. "Summus ergo Franciscus, in visione sibi factâ imaginabatur Seraphim Crucifixum, et tam fortis imaginatione extitit, quod vulnera passionis in carne suâ impressit."—Sermo iii. de S. Francisco. Compare Gieseler, ii. 2, 349. Nicolas IV., too, asserted the stigmata of St. Francis (he was himself a Franciscan); he silenced a Dominican, who dared to assert that in Peter Martyr (Peter was a Dominican) were signs Dei vivi, in St. Francis only Dei mortui. —Raynald. A.D. 1291.

cans, the lower orders, throughout Christendom, there was thus almost a second Gospel, a second Redeemer, who could not but throw back the one Saviour into more awful obscurity. The worship of St. Francis in prayer, in picture, vied with that of Christ: if it led, perhaps, a few up to Christ, it kept the multitude fixed upon itself. But as soon as indignant religion dared lift up its protest (after several centuries!) it did so; and, as might be expected, revenged its long compulsory silence by the bitterest satire and the rudest burlesque.[z]

Franciscanism was the democracy of Christianity; but with St. Francis it was an humble, meek, quiescent democracy. In his own short fragmentary writings he ever enforces the most submissive obedience to the clergy;[a] those at least who lived according to the rule of the Roman Church. This rule would no doubt except the simoniac and the married clergy; but the whole character of his teaching was the farthest removed from that of a spiritual demagogue. His was a pacific passive mysticism, which consoled the poor for the inequalities of this life by the hopes of heaven. But ere long his more vehement disciple, Antony of Padua, sounded a different note: he scrupled not to denounce the worldly clergy. Antony of Padua was a Portuguese, born at Lisbon. He showed early a strong religious temperament. The reliques of the five Franciscan martyrs, sent over from Morocco, had kindled the most ardent enthusiasm. The young Fernand (such was his baptismal name) joined himself to some Franciscan friars, utterly illiterate, but of burning zeal, and under their guidance set forth deliberately to win the crown of

[z] See the Alcoran des Cordeliers. Yet this book could hardly transcend the grave blasphemies of the Liber Conformitatum, *e. g.*, Christ was transfigured once, S. Francis twenty times; Christ changed water into wine once, S. Francis three times; Christ endured his wounds a short time, S. Francis two years; and so with all the Gospel miracles.

[a] In his Testament he writes: "Postea dedit mihi Dominus, et dat tantam fidem in sacerdotibus, qui vivunt secundum Ordinem Sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ propter ordinem ipsorum, quod si facerent mihi persecutionem volo recurrere ad ipsos."—Op. S. Francisc. p. 20. "Il disoit que s'il rencontroit un Sainct qui fust descendu du ciel en terre et un Prestre, qu'il baiseroit premièrement la main au Prestre, puis il feroit la reverence au Sainct, recevant de celui-là le corps de nostre Seigneur Jesus Christ, pourquoi il méritoit plus d'honneur."—Chroniques, i. c. lxxxiv.

martyrdom among the Moors. He was cast by a storm on the coast of Sicily. He found his way to Romagna, united himself to the Franciscans, retired into a hermitage, studied deeply, and at length was authorised by the General of the Order to go forth and preach. For many years his eloquence excited that rapture of faith which during these times is almost periodically breaking forth, especially in the north of Italy. Every class, both sexes, all ages were equally entranced. Old enmities were reconciled, old debts paid, forgotten wrong atoned for; prostitutes forsook their sins, robbers forswore their calling; such is said to have been the magic of his words that infants ceased to cry. His voice was clear and piercing like a trumpet; his Italian purer than that of most natives. At Rimini, at Milan, in other cities he held disputations against the heretics, who yielded to his irresistible arguments. But the triumph of his courage and of his eloquence was his daring to stand before Eccelin of Verona to rebuke him for his bloody atrocities. Eccelin is said to have bowed in awe before the intrepid preacher, he threw himself at the feet of Antony, and promised to amend his life. The clergy dared not but admire Antony of Padua, whom miracle began to environ. But they saw not without terror that the meek Franciscan might soon become a formidable demagogue, formidable to themselves as to the enemies of the faith.

But what is more extraordinary, already in the time of St. Bonaventura they had begun to be faithless to their hard bride, Poverty. Bonaventura himself might have found it difficult to adduce authority for his laborious learning in the rule of his Master. Franciscanism is in both respects more or less repudiating St. Francis. The first General of the Order, Brother Elias (General during the lifetime of the Saint), refused the dignity, because his infirmities compelled him to violate one of its rules, to ride on horseback. He was compelled to assume the honour, degraded, resumed his office, was again degraded; for Elias manifestly despised, and endeavoured to throw off, and not alone, the very vital principle of the Order, men-

dicancy; he persecuted the true disciples of St. Francis.[b] At length the successor of St. Francis became a counsellor of Frederick II., the mortal enemy of the Pope, especially of the Franciscan Popes, above all of the first patron of Franciscanism, Gregory IX.

The Rule had required the peremptory renunciation of all worldly goods by every disciple of the order, and those who received the proselytes were carefully to abstain from mingling in worldly business. Not till he was absolutely destitute did the disciple become a Franciscan. They might receive food, clothes, or other necessaries, on no account money; even if they found it they were to trample it under foot. They might labour for their support, but were to be paid in kind. They were to have two tunics, one with a hood, one without, a girdle and breeches. The fatal feud, the controversy on the interpretation of this stern rule of poverty, will find its place hereafter. The Rule.

St. Francis rejected alike the pomp of ritual, and the pride of learning. The Franciscan services were to be conducted with the utmost simplicity of devotion, with no wantonness of music. There was to be only one daily mass. It was not long before the magnificent church of Assisi began to rise; and the Franciscan services, if faithful to the form, began soon by their gorgeousness to mock the spirit of their master.

No Franciscan was to preach without permission of the Provincial of the Order, or if forbidden by the bishop of the diocese; their sermons were to be on the great religious and moral truths of the Gospel, and especially short. He despised and prohibited human learning, even human eloquence displayed for vanity and ostentation.[c] Bona-

[b] Compare Les Chroniques, part ii. c. v. p. 4. "Aussi étoit cause de grand mal, le grand nombre des frères qui lui adhéroient, lesquels comme les partisans le suivoient et l'imitoient, l'incitant à poursuivre les frères qui étoient zélés observateurs de la règle."—Regul., cap. ii. p. 23.

[c] "Je ne voudrais point de plus grands Docteurs de Théologie, que ceux qui enseignent leur prochain avec les œuvres, la douceur, la pauvreté, et l'humilité." He goes on to rebuke preachers who are filled with vain glory by the concourse of hearers, and the success of their preaching.—Chroniques, ii. c. xxiv. I find the Saint goaded to one other malediction,—against a provincial, who encouraged profound study at the University of Bologna.—c. xviii. See above his contempt and aversion for books.

ventura himself in his profoundest writings maintained the mystic fervour of his master; but every where the Franciscans are with the Dominicans vieing for the mastery in the universities of Christendom; Duns Scotus the most arid dialectician, and William of Ockham the demagogue of scholasticism, balance the fame of Albert the Great and Thomas of Aquino. A century has not passed before, besides the clergy, the older Orders are heaping invectives on the disciples of St. Francis, not only as disturbers of their religious peace, as alienating the affections and reverence of their flocks or their retainers, but as their more successful rivals for the alms of dying penitents, as the more universal legatees of lands, treasures, houses, immunities.

The Benedictine of St. Albans,[d] Matthew Paris, who at first wrote, or rather adopted language, highly commending the new-born zeal, and yet-admired holiness of the mendicants,[e] in all the bitter jealousy of a rival Order, writes thus:—"It is terrible, it is an awful presage, that in three hundred years, in four hundred years, even in more, the old monastic Orders have not so entirely degenerated as these Fraternities. The friars who have been founded hardly forty years have built, even in the present day in England, residences as lofty as the palaces of our kings. These are they, who enlarging day by day their sumptuous edifices, encircling them with lofty walls, lay up within them incalculable treasures, imprudently transgressing the bounds of poverty, and violating, according to the prophecy of the German Hildegard, the very fundamental rules of their profession. These are they who impelled by the love of gain, force themselves upon the last hours of the Lords, and of the rich whom they know to be overflowing with wealth; and these, despising all rights, supplanting the ordinary pastors, extort confessions and secret testaments, boasting of themselves and of their Order, and asserting their vast superiority over all others. So that no one of the faithful now believes that he can be saved, unless guided and directed by the Preachers or Friar

Change in the Order.

[d] The first Franciscan foundation in England was at Abingdon.—Malan, p. 264.
[e] Wendover, ii. p. 210, sub ann. 1207.

Minors. Eager to obtain privileges, they serve in the courts of kings and nobles, as counsellors, chamberlains, treasurers, bridesmen, or notaries of marriages; they are the executioners of the Papal extortions. In their preaching they sometimes take the tone of flattery, sometimes of biting censure: they scruple not to reveal confessions, or to bring forward the most rash accusations. They despise the legitimate Orders, those founded by holy fathers, by St. Benedict or St. Augustine, with all their professors. They place their own Order high above all; they look on the Cistercians as rude and simple, half laic or rather peasants; they treat the Black Monks as haughty Epicureans.[f]

Our history reverts to the close of Innocent III.'s eventful pontificate.

In the full vigour of his manhood died Innocent III. He, of all the Popes, had advanced the most exorbitant pretensions, and those pretensions had been received by an age most disposed to accept them with humble deference. The high and blameless, in some respects wise and gentle character of Innocent, might seem to approach more nearly than any one of the whole succession of Roman bishops, to the ideal height of a supreme Pontiff: in him, if ever, might seem to be realized the churchman's highest conception of the Vicar of Christ. Gregory VII. and Boniface VIII., the first and the last of the aggressive Popes, and the aged Gregory IX., had no doubt, more rugged warfare to encounter, fiercer and more unscrupulous enemies to subdue. But in all these there was a personal sternness, a contemptuous haughtiness; theirs was a worldly majesty. Hildebrand and Benedetto Gaetani are men in whom secular policy obscures, and throws back, as it were, the spiritual greatness; and though the firmness with which they endure reverses may be more lofty; yet there is a kind of desecration of the unapproachable sanctity of their office in their personal calamities. The pride of Innocent was calmer, more self-possessed; his dignity was less disturbed by degrading col-

A.D. 1216. Death of Pope Innocent III.

[f] Paris reckons the forty years to his own time, sub ann. 1249.

lisions with rude adversaries; he died on his unshaken throne, in the plenitude of his seemingly unquestioned power. Yet if we pause and contemplate, as we cannot but pause and contemplate, the issue of this highest, in a certain sense noblest and most religious contest for the Papal ascendancy over the world of man, there is an inevitable conviction of the unreality of that Papal power. With all the grandeur of his views, with all the persevering energy of his measures; throughout Innocent's reign, every where we behold failure, every where immediate discomfiture, or transitory success which paved the way for future disaster. The higher the throne of the Pope the more manifestly were its foundations undermined, unsound, unenduring.

Results of his pontificate.

Even Rome does not always maintain her peaceful subservience. Her obedience is interrupted, precarious; that of transient awe, not of deep attachment, or rooted reverence. In Italy, the tutelage of the young Frederick, suspicious, ungenerous, imperious yet negligent, could not but plant deep in the heart of the young sovereign, mistrust, want of veneration, still more of affection for his ecclesiastical guardian. What was there to attach Frederick to the Church? how much to estrange? As King of Sicily he was held under strict tributary control; his step-mother the Church watches every movement with jealous supervision; exacts the most rigid discharge of all the extorted signs of vassalage. It is not as heir of the Empire, that he is reluctantly permitted, or coldly encouraged to cross the Alps, and to win back, if he can, the crown of his ancestors, but as the enemy of the Pope's enemy. Otho had been so ungrateful, was so dangerous, that against him the Pope would support even an Hohenstaufen. The seeds of evil were sown in Frederick's mind, in Frederick's heart, to spring up with fearful fertility. In the Empire it is impossible not to burthen the memory of Innocent with the miseries of the long civil war. Otho without the aid of the Pope could not have maintained the contest for a year; with all the Pope's aid he had sunk into contempt, almost insignificance; he was about to be abandoned, if not actually abandoned, by the

Pope himself. The casual blow of the assassin alone prevented the complete triumph of Philip, already he had extorted his absolution; Innocent was compelled to yield, and could not yield without loss of dignity.[s] The triumph of Otho leads to as fierce, and more perilous resistance to the Papal power, than could have been expected from the haughtiness of the Hohenstaufen. The Pope has an irresistible enemy in Italy itself. Innocent is compelled to abandon the great object of the Papal policy, the breaking the line of succession in the house of Swabia, and to assist in the elevation of a Swabian Emperor. He must yield to the union of the crown of Sicily with that of Germany; and so bequeath to his successors the obstinate and perilous strife with Frederick II.

In France, Philip Augustus is forced to seem, yet only seem, to submit; the miseries of his unhappy wife are but aggravated by the Papal protection. The death of Agnes of Meran, rather than Innocent's authority, heals the strife. The sons of the proscribed concubine succeed to the throne of France.

In England, the Barons refuse to desert John when under the interdict of the Pope; when the Pope becomes the King's ally, resenting the cession of the realm, they withdraw their allegiance. Even in Stephen Langton, who owes his promotion to the Pope, the Englishman prevails over the ecclesiastic; the Great Charter is extorted from the King when under the express protection of the Holy See, and maintained resolutely against the Papal sentence

[s] Read the very curious Latin poem published by Leibnitz, R. Brunsw. S. ii. p. 525, on the Disputatio between Rome and Pope Innocent on the destitution of Otho. Rome begins:—

"Tibi soli supplicat orbis,
Et genus humanum, te disponente movetur."

Innocent, after some flattery of the greatness of Rome, urges:—

"Quæ vos stimulavit Erynnis?
Ut sic unanimes relevare velitis Otonem,
Vultis ut Ecclesiæ Romanæ prædo resurgat,
Hostis Catholicæ fidei, dominando superbus
Non solum factus, sed et ipsa superbia."

Then follow several pages of dispute, kindling into fierce altercation. The Pope winds up:—

"Si te
Non moveant super hoc assignatæ rationes
Per quas Ottoni Fredericus substituatur,
Sic volo, sic fiat, sit pro ratione voluntas."

Rome bursts into invective:—

"Qualis
Servorum Christi Servus!
* * * * *
Non es apostolicus, sed apostaticus; neque Pastor
Immo lupus, vescens ipso grege."

Rome appeals to a General Council. Rome, supposing the Council present, addresses it. The Council replies:—

"Roma parens, non est nostrum deponere Papam."

But the Council declares its right to depose Frederick and to restore Otho.

of abrogation: and in the Great Charter is laid the first stone of the religious as well as the civil liberties of the land.

Venice, in the Crusade, deludes, defies, baffles the Pope. The Crusaders become her army, besiege, fight, conquer for her interests. In vain the Pope protests, threatens, anathematises: Venice calmly proceeds in the subjugation of Zara. To the astonishment, the indignation of the Pope, the Crusaders' banners wave not over Jerusalem, but over Constantinople. But for her own wisdom, Venice might have given an Emperor to the capital of the East, she secures the patriarchate almost in defiance of the Pope; only when she has entirely gained her ends does she submit to the petty and unregarded vengeance of the Pope.

Even in the Albigensian war the success was indeed complete; heresy was crushed, but by means of which Innocent disapproved in his heart. He had let loose a terrible force, which he could neither arrest nor control. The Pope can do every thing but show mercy or moderation. He could not shake off, the Papacy has never shaken off the burthen of its complicity in the remorseless carnage perpetrated by the Crusaders in Languedoc, in the crimes and cruelties of Simon de Montfort. A dark and ineffaceable stain of fraud and dissimulation too has gathered around the fame of Innocent himself.[b] Heresy was quenched in blood; but the earth sooner or later gives out the terrible cry of blood for vengeance against murderers and oppressors.

The great religious event of this Pontificate, the foundation of the Mendicant Orders, that which perhaps perpetuated, or at least immeasurably strengthened, the Papal power for two centuries was extorted from the reluctant Pope. Both St. Dominic and St. Francis were coldly received, almost contemptuously repelled. It was not

[b] It is remarkable that Innocent III. was never canonised. There were popular rumours that the soul of Innocent, escaping from the fires of purgatory, appeared on earth, scourged by pursuing devils, taking refuge at the foot of the cross, and imploring the prayers of the faithful.—Chronic. Erfurt. p. 243. Thom. Cantiprat, Vit. S. Lutgardæ, ap. Surium, Jan. 16.

till either his own more mature deliberation, or wiser counsel which took the form of divine admonition, prevented this fatal error, and prophetically revealed the secret of their strength and of their irresistible influence throughout Christendom, that Innocent awoke to wisdom: he then bequeathed these two great standing armies to the Papacy; armies maintained without cost, sworn, more than sworn, bound by the unbroken chains of their own zeal and devotion to unquestioning, unhesitating service throughout Christendom, speaking all languages. They were colonies of religious militia, natives of every land, yet under foreign control and guidance. Their whole power, importance, perhaps possessions, rested on their fidelity to the See of Rome, that fidelity guaranteed by the charter of their existence. Well might they appear so great as they are seen by the eye of Dante, like the Cherubin and Seraphin in Paradise.[1]

[1] Paradiso, xi. 34, &c.

BOOK IX.—PART II.

POPES.		EMPERORS OF GERMANY.		KINGS OF FRANCE.		KING OF ENGLAND.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
1216 Honorius III.	1227	1212 Frederick II.	1250			1216 Henry III.	1272
				Philip Augustus	1223		
				1223 Louis VIII.	1226		
				1226 Louis IX. (Saint)	1270	ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY.	
1227 Gregory IX.	1241						
1241 Cœlestine IV.	1241					Stephen Langton	1228
1243 Innocent IV.	1254	1246 Henry Raspe (anti-emperor)	1249			1229 Richard Wetherhead	1234
		1250 William of Holland	1256			1234 Edmund Rich	1244
1254 Alexander IV.	1261					1244 Boniface of Savoy	1272
		1257 Vacant. Richard of Cornwall (?) Alfonso of Castile (?)					
		ARCHBISHOPS OF MENTZ.					
		Conrad of Wittelsbach	1230				
		1230 Siegfried I. of Epstein	1249				
		1249 Siegfried II. of Epstein	1251				
		1251 Christian II.	1259				
		1259 Gerhard I.					

BOOK IX.—PART II.

KINGS OF SCOTLAND.		KINGS OF SPAIN.		KINGS OF NAPLES.		EMPERORS OF THE EAST.	
A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.	A.D.
		Castile.				*Latin.*	
1214 Alexander II.	1249	1217 Alfonso X.	1226			1217 Peter de Courtenay	1220
		1226 Ferdinand III.	1252			1220 Robert	1228
		1252 Alfonso XI., the Wise	1276			1228 Baldwin II.	1261
		Arragon.				*Greek.*	
		1213 James.		Frederick II.	1250	Theodore Lascaris	1222
1249 Alexander III.	1286			1250 Conrad	1253	1222 John Ducas	1255
		KINGS OF PORTUGAL.		1254 Manfred	1266	1255 Theodorus	1258
		A.D.	A.D.			1258 John IV.	
		1213 Alfonso the Fat	1233			1259 Michael Palæologus.	
		1233 Sancho II.	1246	1266 Conrad II. Charles of Anjou.		1262 Reunion.	
		1246 Alfonso III.	1279				

BOOK IX.

PART II.

CHAPTER XI.

HONORIUS III. FREDERICK II.

THE Pontificate of Honorius III. is a kind of Oasis of repose, between the more eventful rule of Innocent III. and of Gregory IX. Honorius was a Roman of the noble house of Savelli, Cardinal of St. John and St. Paul. The Papacy having attained its consummate height under Innocent III., might appear resting upon its arms, and gathering up its might for its last internecine conflict, under Gregory IX. and Innocent IV., with the most powerful, the ablest, and, when driven to desperation, most reckless antagonist, who had as yet come into collision with the spiritual supremacy. During nearly eleven years the combatants seem girding themselves for the contest. At first mutual respect or common interests maintain even more than the outward appearance of amity; then arise jealousy, estrangement, doubtful peace, but not declared war. On one side neither the power nor the ambition of the Emperor Frederick II. are mature; his more modest views of aggrandisement gradually expand; his own character is developing itself into that of premature enlightenment and lingering superstition; of chivalrous adventure and courtly elegance, of stern cruelty and generous liberality, of restless and all-stirring, all-embracing activity, which kept Germany, Italy, even the East, in one uninterrupted war with his implacable enemies the Popes, and with the Lombard Republics, while he is constantly betraying his

Honorius III. July 18, 1216. Consecrated July 24.

A.D. 1216 to 1227.

natural disposition to bask away an easy and luxurious life on the shores of his beloved Sicily. All this is yet in its dawn, in its yet unfulfilled promise, in its menace. Frederick has won the Empire; he has united, though he had agreed to make over Sicily to his son, the Imperial crown to that of Sicily. Even if rumours are already abroad of his dangerous freedom of opinion, this may pass for youthful levity, he is still the spiritual subject of the Pope.

Honorius III. stands between Innocent III. and Gregory IX., not as a Pontiff of superior wisdom and more true Christian dignity, adopting a gentler and more conciliating policy, from the sense of its more perfect compatibility with his office of Vicar of Christ; but rather from natural gentleness of character bordering on timidity. He has neither energy of mind to take the loftier line, nor to resist the high churchmen, who are urging him towards it; his was a temporising policy, which could only avert for a time the inevitable conflict. Mildness of Honorius.

And yet a Pope who could assume as his maxim to act with gentleness rather than by compulsion, by influence rather than anathema; nevertheless, to make no surrender of the overweening pretensions of his function, must have had a mind of force and vigour of its own, not unworthy of admiration: a moderate Pope is so rare in these times, that he may demand some homage for his moderation. His age and infirmities may have tended to this less enterprising or turbulent administration.[a] Honorius accepted the tradition of all the rights and duties asserted by, and generally ascribed to the successor of St. Peter, as part of his high office. The Holy War was now become so established an article in the Christian creed, that no Pope, however beyond his age, could have ventured even to be remiss in urging this solemn obligation on all true Christians. No cardinal not in heart a Crusader would have been raised to the Papal See. The assurance of the final triumph of the Christian arms became a point of honour, more than that, an essential part of Christian piety; to deny it was an impeachment on the valour of true Christians, a want of sufficient reliance on God himself. Christ could

[a] "Cum esset corpore infirmus, et ultra modum debilis."—Raynald. sub ann.

not, however he might try the patience of the Christian, eventually abandon to the infidel his holy sepulchre. All admonitions of disaster and defeat were but the just chastisements of the sins of the crusaders; at length the triumph, however postponed, was certain, as certain as that Christ was the Son of God, Mohammed a false prophet.

Honorius urges the Crusade.

Honorius was as earnest, as zealous in the good cause, as had been his more inflexible predecessor; this was the primary object of his ten years' Pontificate; this, which however it had to encounter the coldness, the torpor, the worn-out sympathies of Christendom, clashed with no jealous or hostile feeling. However severe the rebuke, it was rebuke of which Christendom acknowledged the justice; all men honoured the Pope for his zeal in sounding the trumpet with the fiercest energy, even though they did not answer to the call. The more the enthusiasm of Christendom cooled down into indifference, the more ardent and pressing the exhortation of the Popes. The first act of Honorius was a circular address to Christendom, full of rebuke, expostulation, entreaty to contribute either in person or in money to the new campaign. The only King who obeyed the summons was Andrew of Hungary. Some German princes and prelates met the Hungarian at Spalatro: the Dukes of Austria and Meran, the Arch-Bishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Zeitz, Munster, and Utrecht. But notwithstanding the interdict of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Andrew returned in the next year, though not without some fame for valour and conduct, on the plea of enfeebled health, and of important affairs of Hungary.[b] His trophies were reliques, the heads of St. Stephen and St. Margaret, the hands of St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas, a slip of the rod of Aaron, one of the water-pots of the Marriage of Cana. The expedition from the Holy Land against Damietta, the flight of Sultan Kameel from that city, its occupation by the Christians, raised the most exulting hopes. The proposal of the Sultan to yield up Jerusalem was rejected with scorn. But the fatal reverses, which showed the danger

Dec. 5, 1216.

Crusade of Andrew of Hungary.

A.D. 1219. Against Damietta.

[b] This was the Crusade joined by S. Francis.—See Ch. X.

of accepting a Legate (the Legate Cardinal Pelagius) as a general, too soon threw men's minds back into their former prostration. But even before this discomfiture, King Frederick II. had centred on himself the thoughts and hopes of all, who were still Crusaders in their hearts, as the one monarch in Christendom who could restore the fallen fortunes of the Cross in the East. In his first access of youthful pride, as having at eighteen years of age won, by his own gallant daring, the Transalpine throne of his ancestors; in his grateful devotion to the Pope, who, in hatred to Otho, had maintained his cause, Frederick II. had taken the Cross. Nor for some years does there appear any reason to mistrust, if not his religious, at least his adventurous and ambitious ardour. But till the death of his rival Otho, he could command no powerful force which would follow him to the Holy Land, nor could he leave his yet unsettled realm. The princes and churchmen, his partisans, were to be rewarded and so confirmed in their loyalty; the doubtful and wavering to be won; the refractory or resistant to be reduced to allegiance. Frederick II.

The death of Otho, in the castle of Wurtzburg, near Goslar, had been a signal example of the power of religious awe. The battle of Bouvines, and the desertion of his friends had broken his proud spirit; his health failed, violent remedies brought him to the brink of the grave. Hell yawned before the outcast from the Church; nothing less than a public expiation of his sins could soothe his shuddering conscience. No bishop would approach the excommunicated, the fallen Sovereign; the Prior of Halberstadt, on his solemn oath upon the reliques of St. Simon and St. Jude brought for that purpose from Brunswick, that if he lived he would give full satisfaction to the Church, obtained him absolution and the Last Sacrament. The next day, the last of his life, in the presence of the Empress and his family, the nobles, and the Abbot of Hildesheim, he knelt almost naked on a carpet, made the fullest confession of his sins; he showed a cross, which he had received at Rome, as a pledge that he would embark on a Crusade: "the devil had still thwarted his holy vow."

The cross was restored to him. He then crouched down, exposed his naked shoulders, and entreated all present to inflict the merited chastisement. All hands were armed with rods; the very scullions assisted in the pious work of flagellation, or at least of humiliation. In the pauses of the Miserere the Emperor's voice was heard: "Strike harder, spare not the hardened sinner." So died the rival of Philip of Swabia, the foe of Innocent III., in the forty-third year of his age.[c]

With the death of Otho rose new schemes of aggrandisement before the eyes of Frederick II.; he must secure the Imperial crown for himself; for his son Henry the succession to the German kingdom. The Imperial crown must be obtained from the hands of the Pope; the election of his son at least be ratified by that power. A friendly correspondence began with Honorius III. The price set on the coronation of Frederick as Emperor was his undertaking a Crusade to the Holy Land. At the High Diet at Fulda, Frederick himself (so he writes to the Pope) had already summoned the princes of Germany to his great design: at the Diet proclaimed to be held at Magdeburg, he urged the Pope to excommunicate all who should not appear in arms on the next St. John's day. His chief counsellor seemed to be Herman of Salza, the Master of the Teutonic Order, as deeply devoted to the service of the Holy Land, as the Templars and Knights of St. John. On that Order he heaped privileges and possessions. But already in Rome, no doubt among the old austere anti-German party, were dark suspicions, sullen admonitions, secret warnings to the mild Pope, that no son of the house of Swabia could be otherwise than an enemy to the Church: the Imperial crown and the kingdom of Naples could not be in the possession of one Sovereign without endangering the independence of the Papacy. Frederick repelled these accusations of hostility to the Church with passionate vehemence. "I well

Promises to lead the Crusade.

Jan. 12, 1219.

May 10, 1219.

[c] Otho died 19th May, 1218, only 43 years old.—See Narratio de Morte Ottonis IV. apud Martene et Durand Thes. His. Anecdot. iii. p. 1373. "Præcepit coquinariis ut in collum suum conculcarent."—Albert. Stadens. Chron. p. 204.

know that those who dare to rise up against the Church of Rome have drunk of the cup of Babylon; and hope that during my whole life I shall never be justly charged with ingratitude to my Holy Mother. I design not, against my own declaration, to obtain the election of my son Henry to the throne of Germany in order to unite the two kingdoms of Germany and Sicily; but that in my absence (no doubt he implies in the Holy Land), the two realms may be more firmly governed; and that in case of my death, my son may be more certain of inheriting the throne of his fathers. That son remains under subjection to the Roman See, which, having protected me, so ought to protect him in his undoubted rights."[d] He then condescends to exculpate himself from all the special charges brought against him by Rome.

The correspondence continued on both sides in terms of amicable courtesy. Each had his object, of which he never lost sight. The Pope would even hazard the aggrandisement of the house of Swabia if he could send forth an overpowering armament to the East. Frederick, secure of the aggrandisement of his house, was fully prepared to head the Crusade. Honorius consented that, in case of the death of Henry the son of Frederick without heir or brother, Frederick should hold both the Empire and the kingdom of Naples during his lifetime. Frederick desired to retain unconditionally the investiture of both kingdoms; but on this point the Pope showed so much reluctance that Frederick broke off the treaty by letter, reserving it for a personal interview with the Pope. "For who could be more obedient to the Church than he who was nursed at her breast and had rested in her lap? Who more loyal? Who would be so mindful of benefits already received, or so prepared to acknowledge his obligations according to the will and pleasure of his benefactors?" Such were the smooth nor yet deceptive words of Frederick.[e] Frederick had already consented, even proposed, that the Pope should place all the German Princes

Sept. 6, 1219. Correspondence with the Pope.

[d] Regest. Hon., quoted from the Vatican archives by Von Raumer, iii. p. 324.

[e] All this I am not surprised to find by such writers as Höfler represented as the most deliberate hypocrisy. I am sorry to see the same partial view in Boehmer's Regesta.

who refused to take up the Cross under the interdict of the Church, and thus, as the Pope reminds him, had still more inextricably bound himself, who had already vowed to take up that Cross. Frederick urged Honorius to write individually to all the princes among whom there was no ardour for the Crusade, to threaten them with the ban if at least they did not maintain the truce of God; he promised, protesting that he acted without deceit or subtlety, to send forward his forces, and follow himself as speedily as he might. The Pope expressed his profound satisfaction at finding his beloved son so devoted to God and to the Church. He urged him to delay no longer the holy design: "Youth, power, fame, your vow, the example of your ancestors, summon you to fulfil your glorious enterprise. That which your illustrious grandfather Frederick I. undertook with all his puissance, it is your mission to bring to a glorious end. Three times have I consented to delay; I will even prolong the term to the 1st of May. Whose offer is this?—Not mine; but that of Christ! Whose advantage?—That of all his disciples! Whose honour?—That of all Christians! Are you not invited by unspeakable rewards? summoned by miracles? admonished by examples?"

March, 1220.

But, in the mean time, Frederick, without waiting the assent of the Pope, had carried his great design, the election of his son Henry to the crown of Germany. His unbounded popularity, his power now that his rival Otho was dead, the fortunate falling-in of some great fiefs (especially the vast possessions of Berthold of Zahringen, which enabled him to reward some, to win others of the nobler houses), his affability, his liberality, his justice, gave him the command over the suffrages of the temporal princes. By a great measure of wisdom and justice, the charter of the liberties of the German Church, on which some looked with jealousy as investing him with dangerous power, he gained the support of the high ecclesiastics.[f] The King surrendered the unkingly right or usage of seizing to his own use the personalities of bishops on their decease. These effects, if

Diet of Frankfort. April, 1220. Election of Henry as his successor. April 26, 1220.

[f] Monument. Germ. iv. 235.

not bequeathed by will, went to the bishop's successor. The King consented to renounce the right of coining money and levying tolls within the territory of the bishops without their consent; and to punish all forgeries of their coin. The vassals and serfs of the prelates were to be received in no imperial city or fief of the Empire to their damage. The advocates, under pretence of protection, were not to injure the estates of the Church: no one was to occupy by force an ecclesiastical fief. He who did not submit within six weeks to the authority of the Church fell under the ban of the Empire, and could neither act as judge, plaintiff, or witness in any court. The Bishops, on their side, promised to prosecute and to punish all who opposed the will of the King. The King further stipulated that no one might erect castles or fortresses in the lands of a spiritual prince. No officer of the King had jurisdiction, could coin money, or levy tolls in the episcopal cities, except eight days before and eight days after a diet to be held in such city. Only when the King was actually within the city was the jurisdiction of the prince suspended, and only so long as he should remain.

The election of Henry to the throne of Germany without the consent of the Pope struck Rome with dismay. Frederick made haste to allay, if possible, the jealous apprehension. He declared that it was the spontaneous act of the Princes of the Empire during his absence, without his instigation. They had seen, from a quarrel which had broken out between the Archbishop of Mentz and the Landgrave of Thuringia, the absolute necessity of a King to maintain in Frederick's absence the peace of the Empire. He had even delayed his own consent. The act of election would be laid before the Pope with the seals of all who had been concerned in the affair.[g] He declared that this election was by no means designed to perpetuate the union of the kingdom of Naples with the Empire. "Even if the Church had no right over the kingdom of Apulia and Sicily, I would freely grant that kingdom to the Pope rather than attach it to the Empire, should I die without lawful

Nurenberg, July 13.

[g] Regest., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 335. Pertz, Monumenta.

heirs." [h] He significantly adds, that it is constantly suggested to him that the love professed to him by the Church is not sincere and will not be lasting, but he had constantly refused to entertain such ungrounded and dishonourable suspicions.

The Abbot of Fulda had, in the mean time, been despatched to Rome to demand the coronation of Frederick as Emperor. This embassage had been usually the office of one of the great prelates of Germany, but the mild Honorius took no offence, or disguised it. At the end of August Frederick descended the Alps into the plain of Lombardy. Eight years before, a boy of eighteen, he had crossed those Alps, almost alone, on his desperate adventure of wresting the crown of his fathers from the brow of Otho. He came back, in the prime of life, one of the mightiest kings who had ever occupied that throne; stronger in the attachment of all orders, perhaps, than any former Swabian king; having secured, it might seem, in his house, at least the Empire, if not the Empire with all its rights in Italy; and the kingdom of Sicily, instead of a hostile power at the command of the Popes, his own, if not in possession, in attachment. During these eight years Italy had been one great feud of city with city, of the cities within themselves. Milan, released from fears of the Emperor, had now begun a quarrel with the Church. The Podestâ expelled the Archbishop; Parma and many other cities had followed this example; the bishops were driven out, their palaces destroyed, their property plundered: the great ability of the Cardinal Ugolino, afterwards Gregory IX., had restored something like order, but the fire was still smouldering in its ashes.

Frederick in Italy. Aug. 17, 1220.

Frederick passed on without involving himself in these implacable quarrels: it was time to assert the Imperial rights when invested in the Imperial crown. He had crossed the Brenner, and moving by Verona and Mantua, so avoided Milan. The absence of the Archbishop from Milan was a full excuse for his postponing his coronation with the iron crown of Lombardy. He granted rights and privileges to Venice, Genoa, Pisa; overawed or

[h] "Prius ipso regno Romanam Ecclesiam quam Imperium dotaremus."—Ibid.

conciliated some cities. On the thirtieth of September he was in Verona, on the fourth of October in Bologna. His Chancellor, Conrad of Metz, had arranged the terms on which he was to receive the Imperial crown. Frederick advanced with a great array of churchmen in his retinue—the Archbishops of Mentz, of Ravenna, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Bishops of Metz, Passau, Trent, Brixen, Augsburg, Duke Louis of Bavaria, and Henry Count Palatine. Ambassadors appeared from almost all the cities of Italy: from Apulia, from the Counts of Celano, St. Severino, and Aquila; deputies from the city of Naples. The people of Rome were quiet and well pleased. The only untoward incident which disturbed the peace was a quarrel about a dog between the Ambassadors of Florence and Pisa, which led to a bloody war. On the twenty-second of November Frederick and his Queen were crowned in St. Peter's amid universal acclamations. Frederick disputed not the covenanted price to be paid for the Imperial crown. He received the Cross once more from the hand of Cardinal Ugolino. He swore that part of his forces should set forth for the Holy Land in the March of the following year, himself in August. He released his vassals from their fealty in all the territories of the Countess Matilda, and made over the appointment of all the podestas to the Pope; some who refused to submit were placed by the Chancellor Conrad under the ban of the Empire. He put the Pope in possession of the whole region from Radicofani to Ceperano, with the March of Ancona and the Dutchy of Spoleto.

His liberality was not limited by these grants. Two laws concerning the immunities of ecclesiastics and the suppression of heretics, might satisfy the severest churchman. The first absolutely annulled all laws or usages of cities, communities, or ruling powers which might be or were employed against the liberties of the churches or of spiritual persons, or against the laws of the Church and of the Empire. Outlawry and heavy fines were enacted not only against those who enforced, but who counselled or aided in the enforcement of such usages: the offenders forfeited, if contumacious for a whole year,

Laws in favour of ecclesiastics.

all their goods.[1] No tax or burthen could be set upon ecclesiastics, churches, or spiritual foundations. Whoever arraigned a spiritual person before a civil tribunal forfeited his right to implead; the tribunal which admitted such arraignment lost its jurisdiction; the judge who refused justice three times to a spiritual person in any matter forfeited his judicial authority.

Law against heretics.

The law against heretics vied in sternness with that of Innocent III., confirmed by Otho IV.[k] All Cathari, Paterines, Leonists, Speronists, Arnoldists, and dissidents of all other descriptions, were incapable of holding places of honour, and under ban. Their goods were confiscated, and not restored to their children; "for outrages against the Lord of Heaven were more heinous than against a temporal lord." Whoever, suspected of heresy, did not clear himself after a year's trial was to be treated as a heretic. Every magistrate on entering upon office must himself take an oath of orthodoxy, and swear to punish all whom the Church might denounce as heretics. If any temporal lord did not rid his lands of heretics, the true believers might take the business into their own hands, and seize the goods of the delinquent, provided that the rights of an innocent lord were not thereby impeached. All who concealed, aided, protected heretics were under ban and interdict; if they did not make satisfaction within two years, under outlawry; they could hold no office, nor inherit, nor enter any plea, nor bear testimony.

Three other laws, based on the eternal principles of morality, accompanied these acts of ecclesiastical legislation, or of temporal legislation in the spirit of the Church. One prohibited the plundering of wrecks, excepting the ships of pirates and infidels. Another protected pilgrims; they were to be received with kindness; if they died, their property was to be restored to their rightful heirs. The third protected the persons and labours of the cultivators of the soil.

Other laws.

The Pope and the Emperor, notwithstanding some

[1] Constit. Frederick II. in Corp. Jur. tit i. Bullar. Roman. i. 63.

[k] This law was renewed and made more severe, 1224. Raynold. sub ann. 1231.

trifling differences, parted in perfect amity. "Never," writes Honorius, "did Pope love Emperor as he loved his son Frederick." Each had obtained some great objects: the Pope the peaceable surrender of the Mathildine territories, and the solemn oath that Frederick would speedily set forth on the Crusade. The Emperor retired in peace and joy to the beloved land of his youth. The perilous question of his right to the kingdom of Sicily had been intentionally or happily avoided; he had been recognised by the Pope as Emperor and King of Sicily. There were still brooding causes of mutual suspicion and dissatisfaction. Frederick pursued with vigour his determination of repressing the turbulent nobles of Apulia; the castles of the partisans of Otho were seized; they fled, and, he bitterly complained, were received with more than hospitality in the Papal dominions. He spared not the inimical bishops; they were driven from their sees; some imprisoned. The Pope loudly protested against this audacious violation of the immunities of Churchmen. Frederick refused them entrance into the kingdom; he had rather forfeit his crown than the inalienable right of the sovereign, of which he had been defrauded by Innocent III., of visiting treason on all his subjects.[m] Sept. 8.

Then in the next year came the fatal news from the East—the capture, the disasters which followed the capture of Damietta. The Pope and the Emperor expressed their common grief: the Pope was bowed with dismay and sorrow;[n] the tidings pierced as a sword to the heart of Frederick.[o] Frederick had sent forty triremes, under the Bishop of Catania and the Count of Malta; they had arrived too late. But this dire reverse showed that nothing less than an overwhelming force could restore the Christian cause in the East; and in those days of colder religious zeal, even the Emperor and King of Sicily could not at once summon such overwhelming force. A.D. 1221. Loss of Damietta.

[m] "Chè prima si lascierrebbe torre la corona, chè derogar in un punto da questi suoi diritti."—Giannone, l. xvi. c. i.

[n] Letter of Pope Honorius, Nov. 1221.

[o] Epist. Honor. apud Raynald., Aug. 10, 1221.

Frederick was fully occupied in the Sicilian dominions: during his minority, and during his absence, the powerful Germans, Normans, Italians, even Churchmen, had usurped fiefs, castles, cities:[p] he had to resume by force rights unlawfully obtained, to dispossess men whose only title had been open or secret leanings to the Emperor Otho; to punish arbitrary oppression of the people; to destroy strong castles built without licence; to settle ancient feuds and suppress private wars: it needed all his power, his popularity, his firmness, to avert insurrection during these vigorous but necessary measures. Two great assizes held at Capua and Messina showed the confusion in the affairs of both kingdoms. But from such nobles he could expect no ready obedience to assemble around his banner for an expedition to the Holy Land. Instead of a great fleet, suddenly raised, as by the wand of an enchanter, as the Pope seemed to expect, and a powerful army, in April in the year 1222 the Pope and the Emperor met at Veroli to deliberate on the Crusade. They agreed to proclaim a great assembly at Verona in the November of that year, at which the Pope and the Emperor were to be present. All princes, prelates, knights, and vassals were to be summoned to unite in one irresistible effort for the relief of the East. The assembly at Verona did not take place; the illness of the Pope, the occupations of the Emperor, were alleged as excuses for the further delay. A second time the Pope and the Emperor met at Ferentino; with them King John of Jerusalem, the Patriarch, the Grand Master of the Knights Templars. Frederick explained the difficulties which had impeded his movements, first in Germany, now in Sicily. To the opposition of his turbulent barons was now added the danger of an insurrection of the Saracens in Sicily. Frederick himself was engaged in a short but obstinate war.[q] Even the King of Jerusalem deprecated the

Dec. 1120 to May, 1121.

Meeting at Veroli.

At Ferentino, March, 1223.

[p] Letter of Frederick to the Pope from Trani, March 3, 1221.

[q] The two following passages show that this was no feigned excuse:—"Imperator in Sicilia de Mirabello triumphavit, et de ipso et suis fecit quod eorum meruerat exigentia commissorum."—Richd. San Germ. "Dominus Fredericus erat cum magno exercitu super Saracenos Jacis, et cepit Benavith cum filiis suis, et suspendit apud Panornum."—Anon. Sic. He

despatch of an insufficient force. Two full years were to be employed, by deliberate agreement, in awakening the dormant zeal of Christendom; but Frederick, now a widower, bound himself, it might seem, in the inextricable fetters of his own personal interest and ambition, by engaging to marry Iolante, the beautiful daughter of King John.

Two years passed away; King John of Jerusalem travelled over Western Christendom, to England, France, Germany, to represent in all lands the state of extreme peril and distress to which his kingdom was reduced. Everywhere he met with the most courteous and royal reception; but the days of Peter the Hermit and St. Bernard were gone by. France, England, Germany, Spain, were involved in their own affairs; a few took the Cross, and offered sums of money to no great amount; and this was all which was done by the royal preacher of the Crusade. Tuscany and Lombardy were almost as indifferent to the expostulations of Cardinal Ugolino, who had for some years received full power from the Emperor to awaken, if possible, the sluggish ardour of those provinces. King John and the Patriarch, after visiting Apulia, reported to the Pope the absolute impossibility of raising any powerful armament by the time appointed in the treaty of Ferentino.

Honorius was compelled to submit; at St. Germano was framed a new agreement, by two Cardinals commissioned by the Pope, which deferred for two years longer (till August, 1227) the final departure of the Crusade.[r] Frederick permitted himself to be bound by stringent articles. In that month of that year he would proceed on the Crusade, and maintain one thousand knights at his own cost for two years: for each knight who was deficient, he was to pay the penalty of fifty marks, to be at the disposal of the King, the Patriarch, and the Master of the Knights Templars, for the benefit

At San Germano. July, 1225.

afterwards transplanted many of them to Lucera. So far was Frederick as yet from any suspicious dealings with the Saracens. The Parliament at Messina had passed persecuting laws against the Jews. A law of the same year protected the churches and the clergy from the burthens laid upon them by the nobles.

[r] Ric. San Germ., sub ann.

of the Holy Land. He was to have a fleet of 150 ships to transport 2000 knights, without cost, to Palestine. If so many knights were not ready to embark, the money saved was to be devoted to those pious interests. He was to place in the hands of the same persons 100,000 ounces of gold, at four several periods, to be forfeited for the same uses, if in two years he did not embark on the Crusade. His successors were bound to fulfil these covenants in case of his death. If he failed to perform any one of these covenants, if at the appointed time he did not embark for the Holy Land; if he did not maintain the stipulated number of knights; if he did not pay the stipulated sums of money; he fell at once under the interdict of the Church: if he left unfulfilled any other point, the Church, by his own free admission, had the power to pronounce the interdict.

Personal ambition, as well as religious zeal, or the policy of keeping on good terms with the spiritual power, might seem to mingle with the aspirations of the Emperor Frederick for the Holy Land; to his great Empire he would add the dominions of the East. In the November of the same year, after the signature of the treaty in St. Germano, he celebrated his marriage with Iolante, daughter of the King of Jerusalem. No sooner had he done this, than he assumed to himself the title of King of Jerusalem: he caused a new great seal to be made, in which he styled himself Emperor, King of Jerusalem and Sicily. John of Jerusalem was King, he asserted, only by right of his wife; on her death, the crown descended to her daughter; as the husband of Iolante he was the lawful Sovereign.[8] King John by temperament a wrathful man, burst into a paroxysm of fury; high words ensued; he called the Emperor the son of a butcher; he accused him of neglecting his daughter, of diverting those embraces due to his bride to one of her attendants. He retired in anger to Bologna.

Frederick marries Iolante. A.D. 1225.

[8] "Desponsatâ puellâ Imperator patrem requisivit; ut regna et regalia jura resignet — stupefactus ille obedit."— Jord. apud Raynald. Yet if we are to believe the Chronicle of Tours, he just at that time threw Iolante into prison, and ravished her cousin, the daughter of Walter of Brienne. Was this one of the tales told by the King of Jerusalem?

Frederick had other causes for suspecting the enmity of his father-in-law. He was the brother of Walter of Brienne; and rumours had prevailed, that he intended to claim the inheritance of his brother's wife, the daughter of the Norman Tancred. But John filled Italy with dark stories of the dissoluteness of the gallant Frederick: that he abstained altogether from the bed of Iolante is refuted by the fact, that two years after she bore him a son, which Frederick acknowledged as his own. They appeared even during that year, at least with all outward signs of perfect harmony.

Nor was this the only event which crossed the designs of Frederick, if he ever seriously determined to fulfil his vow (where is the evidence, but that of his bitter enemies, that he had not so determined?) Throughout all his dominions, instead of that profound peace and established order which might enable him, at the head of the united knighthood of the Empire and of Italy to break with irresistible forces upon the East; in Germany the assassination of the wise and good Engelbert, Archbishop of Cologne,[1] to whom Frederick had entrusted the tutelage of his son Henry, and the administration of the Empire, threatened the peace of the realm. In Lombardy, Guelf and Ghibelline warred, intrigued; princes against princes, Bonifazio of Monferrat and the house of Este against the Salinguerra, and that cruel race of which Eccelin di Romano was the head. Venice and Genoa, Genoa and Pisa, Genoa and Milan, Asti and Alexandria, Ravenna and Ferrara, Mantua and Cremona, even Rome and Viterbo, were now involved in fierce hostility, or pausing to take advantage each of the other; and each city had usually a friendly faction within the walls of its rival. Frederick, who held the high Swabian notion as to the prerogative of the Emperor, had determined with a high hand to assert the Imperial rights. He hoped, with his Ghibelline allies, to become again the Sovereign of the north of Italy. He was prepared to march at the head of his Southern forces; a Diet had been summoned at Verona. Milan again set herself at

State of Italy.

[1] Godfred. Monach. apud Boehmer Fontes, Nov. 7, 1225.

the head of a new Lombard League. In Milan the internal strife between the nobles and the people, between the Archbishop and the Podestâ, had been allayed by the prudent intervention of the Pope, to whom the peace of Milan was of infinite importance, that the republic might put forth her whole strength as head of the Lombard League.[u] Milan was joined by Bologna, Piacenza, Verona, Brescia, Faenza, Mantua, Vercelli, Lodi, Bergamo, Turin, Alessandria, Vicenza, Padua, Treviso. The mediation of Honorius averted the threatening hostilities. Yet the Imperialists accuse Honorius as the secret favourer of the League.[x]

With Honorius himself a rupture seemed to be imminent. The Emperor, even before the treaty of St. Germano, had done the Pope the service of maintaining him against his hostile subjects, compelling the Capitanata and the Maremma to return to their allegiance, coercing the populace of Rome, who, in one of their usual outbursts, had driven the Pontiff from the city. The deep murmurs of a coming storm might be heard by the sagacious ear. Frederick, in his determination to reduce his Apulian kingdom to subjection, had still treated the ecclesiastical fiefs as he did the civil; he retained the temporalities in his possession during vacancies, so that five of the largest bishoprics, Capua, Aversa, Brundusium, Salerno, and Cosenza were without bishops. Honorius, soon after the treaty of St. Germano, wrote to inform the Emperor that for the good of his soul and the souls of his subjects, he had appointed five learned and worthy Prelates to these sees, natives of the kingdom of Naples, and who could not, therefore, but be acceptable to the King. Frederick, indignant at this compulsory nomination, without, as was usual, even courteous consultation of the Sovereign, refused to receive the Bishops, and even repelled the Legates of the Pope from his court. He summoned, it might seem in reprisal, the inhabitants of Spoleto to his banner, to

[u] The annual income of the Archbishop of Milan, according to Giulini, was 80,000 golden florins (Giulini, Memorie, l. xlviii.). This Giulini estimates at, in the 13th century, nearly 10 millions of lire Milanese. Cherrier reckons this sum at more than 7½ millions of francs. — Cherrier, ii. p. 299.

[x] "Cujus suggestione multæ civitates contra imperatorem conjuraverant facientes collegium." — God. Monach. p. 895.

accompany him in his expedition to Lombardy. The Spoletines averred that, by the late treaty, which the Emperor was thus wantonly violating, they owed allegiance only to the Pope.

The correspondence betrayed the bitterness and wrath on both sides. Even Honorius seemed about to resume the haughty tone of his predecessors. "If our writing hath filled you with astonishment, how much more were we amazed by yours. You boast that you have been more obedient to us than any of the Kings of your race. Indeed, no great boast! But if you will compare yourself with those godly and generous Sovereigns, who have in word and deed protected the Church, you will not claim superiority; you will strive to approach more nearly to those great examples. You charge the Church with treachery, that while she pretended to be your guardian, she let loose your enemies on Apulia, and raised Otho to the throne of your fathers: you venture on these accusations, who have so repeatedly declared that to the Church you owe your preservation, your life. Providence must have urged you to these rash charges that the care and prudence of the Church may be more manifest to all men." To the Church, he insinuates, Frederick mainly owes the crown of Germany, which he has no right to call hereditary in his family. "In all our negotiations with you we have respected your dignity more than our own." Whatever irregularity there might be in the appointment of the bishops, it was not for the King's arbitrary will to decide; and Frederick had been guilty of far more flagrant encroachments on the rights of bishops and of the lower clergy. Honorius exculpates himself from having received the rebellious subjects of the King in the territories of the See. "You accuse us of laying heavy burdens on you, which we touch not ourselves with the tip of our finger. You forget your voluntary taking up the Cross, our prolongation of the period, our free gift of the tithes of all ecclesiastical property; our own contributions in money, the activity of our brethren in preaching the Holy Vow. In fine, the hand of the Lord is not weakened in its power to humble the haughty: be not

Letter of Honorius.

June 5, 1226.

dazzled by your prosperity, so as to throw off the lowliness which you professed in times of trouble. It is the law of true nobility not to be elated by success, as not to be cast down by adversity."

Honorius no doubt felt his strength; the Pope at the head of the Guelfic interest in Lombardy had been formidable to the designs of Frederick. The Emperor, indeed, had assumed a tone of command, which the forces which he could array would hardly maintain. At Borgo St. Domnino he had placed all the contumacious cities under the ban of the Empire; the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Hildesheim, had pronounced the interdict of the Church, as though their turbulent proceedings impeded the Crusade. Both parties submitted to the mediation of Honorius; Frederick condescended to receive the intrusive bishops whom he had repelled: he declared himself ready to accept the terms most consistent with the honour of God, of the Church, of the Empire, and of the Holy Land. The Pope, whose whole soul was absorbed in the promotion of his one object, the Crusade, pronounced his award, in which he treated the Emperor and his rebellious subjects as hostile powers contending on equal terms. Each party was to suspend hostilities, to restore the prisoners taken, to forswear their animosities. The King annulled the act of the Imperial ban, and all penalties incurred under it; the Lombards stipulated to maintain at their own cost four hundred knights for the service of the Holy Land during two years, and rigidly to enforce all laws against heretics. This haughty arbitration, almost acknowledging the absolute independence of the Republics, was the last act of Honorius III.; he died in the month of March, a few months before the term agreed on in the treaty of St. Germano was to expire, and the Emperor, under pain of excommunication, to embark for the Holy Land. The Apostolic tiara devolved on the Cardinal Ugolino, of the noble house of Conti, which had given to the Holy See Innocent III. The more lofty churchmen felt some disappointment that the Papacy was declined by Cardinal Conrad, the Count of Urach, the

July 11, 1226.

Arbitration of Honorius. Nov. 17, 1226.

Jan. 1227.

Death of Honorius.

declared enemy of Frederick. They mistrusted only the feebleness of age in the Cardinal Ugolino. A Pope eighty years old, might seem no fitting antagonist for a Prince like Frederick, as yet hardly in the full maturity of his years. In all other respects the Cardinal Ugolino, in learning, in ability, in activity, in the assertion of the loftiest hierarchical principles stood high above the whole Conclave. Frederick himself, on a former occasion, had borne testimony to the distinguished character of the Cardinal Ugolino. "He is a man of spotless reputation, of blameless morals, renowned for piety, erudition, and eloquence. He shines among the rest like a brilliant star." The Emperor's political astrology had not calculated the baleful influence of that disastrous planet on his fortunes, his fame, and his peace.

CHAPTER XII.

HONORIUS III. AND ENGLAND.

The relations of Honorius III. to the Empire and the Emperor Frederick II. were no doubt of the most profound importance to Christendom; yet those to England must find their place in an English history.[a] We revert to the commencement of his Papacy. The first care, indeed, of Pope Honorius was for the vassal kingdom of England. The death of King John, three months after that of Innocent III., totally changed the position of the Pontiff. On his accession Honorius had embraced with the utmost ardour the policy of Innocent. King John, the vassal of the Papacy, must be supported against his rebellious barons, and against the invasion of Louis of France, by all the terrors of the Papal power. Louis and all his army, the Barons and all their partisans, were under the most rigorous form of excommunication. But on John's death, the Pope is no longer the haughty and unscrupulous ally and protector of an odious, feeble, and irreligious tyrant; one whose lusts had wounded the high chivalrous honour of many of the noblest families; whose perfidy, backed by the absolving power of the Pope, had broken the most solemn engagements, and revoked the great Charter to which he had submitted at Runnymede; who was ravaging the whole realm with wild foreign hordes, Brabanters, Poitevins, freebooters of all countries, and had driven the nobles of England into an unnatural alli-

[a] Mr. Wm. Hamilton, when ambassador at Naples, rendered to the country the valuable service of obtaining transcripts of the documents in the Papal archives relating to Great Britain and the See of Rome. These documents, through the active zeal of M. Panizzi, are now deposited in the British Museum. They commence, after one or two unimportant papers, with the first year of Honorius. They are not very accurately copied; many are repetitions; whether they are full and complete no one can know. Many have been already printed in Rymer, in Raynaldus, and elsewhere. Prynne had seen many of the originals, some which do not appear, in the Tower. I cite these documents as MS. B. M.

ance with Louis of France; a transference of the throne to a foreign conqueror. The Pope was no longer the steadfast enemy of the liberties of the realm. He assumed the lofty ground of guardian, as liege lord, of the young heir to the throne (Henry III. was but nine years old), the protector of the blameless orphan whom a rebellious baronage and an alien usurper were endeavouring to despoil of his ancestral crown. Honorius throughout speaks of the young Henry as the vassal of the Church of Rome; of himself as the suzerain of England.[b] English loyalty and English independence hardly needed the Papal fulminations to induce them to abandon the cause into which they had plunged in their despair,[c] the cause of a foreign prince, whose accession to the throne of England would have reduced the realm to a province of France. Already their fidelity to Louis had been shaken by rumours, or more than rumours, that the ambitious and unscrupulous Louis intended, so soon as he had obtained the crown, to rid himself by banishment and by disinheritance of his dangerous partisans; to expel the barons from the realm.[d] The desertion of the nobles, the decisive battle of Lincoln, seated Henry III. on the throne of the Plantagenets. The Pope had only to reward with his praises, immunities, grants, and privileges the few nobles and prelates faithful to the cause of John and of his son, W. Mareschal Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Arundel, Savary de Mauleon, Hubert de Burgh the Justiciary, the Chancellor R. de Marisco, who became Bishop of Durham.[e] He had tardily, sometimes ungraciously, to relieve from the ter-

[b] John he describes as "carissimum in Christo filium nostrum J., Angliæ regem illustrem crucesignatum et vassallum nostrum."—p. 15. The kingdom of England "specialis juris apost. sedis existit."—p. 27.

[c] Honorius admits that the Barons might have had some cause for their wickedness (malitia) in resisting under John what they called the intolerable yoke of servitude. Now that John is dead, they have no excuse if they do not return to their allegiance. He gives power to the Legates, to the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, Exeter, the Archbishops of Dublin and Bourdeaux (the Primate was still in Rome), to absolve the Barons from their oaths to Prince Louis.

[d] Shakspeare has given this plot, with its groundwork in the confession of the Count of Melun.—King John, Act v. Sc. 4.

[e] There are several letters (MS. B. M.) to these English nobles; one to Robert de Marisco empowered him to hold the chancellorship with the bishopric of Durham, and excused him from the fulfilment of his vow to take the cross in the Holy Land, his services being wanted in England. On R. de Marisco compare Collier, i. p. 430.

rible penalties of excommunication the partisans of Louis;[f] to persuade or to force the King of France to withdraw all support from the cause of his son, who still continued either in open hostility or in secret aggression on the continental dominions of Henry III.; and to maintain his lofty position as Liege Lord and Protector of the King and of the realm of England.

The Legate Gualo, the Cardinal of St. Marcellus, had conducted this signal revolution with consummate address and moderation.[g] From the coronation of Henry III. at Gloucester by his hands, the Cardinal took the lead in all public affairs: he was virtual if not acknowledged Protector of the infant King. Before the battle of Lincoln the Legate harangued the royal army, lavished his absolutions, his promises of eternal reward; under the blessing of God, bestowed by him, the army advanced to victory.[h] In the settlement of the kingdom, in the reconciliation of the nobles, he was mild if lofty, judicious if dictatorial. England might have owed a deep debt of gratitude to the Pope and to the Legate, if Gualo's fame had not been tarnished by his inordinate rapacity.[i] To the nobles he was liberal of his free absolution; the clergy must pay the penalty of their rebellion, and pay that penalty in forfeiture, or the redemption of forfeiture by enormous fines to the Pope and to his Legate. Inquisitors were sent through the whole realm to investigate the conduct of the clergy.[k] The lower ecclesiastics, even canons, under the

[f] There are some curious instances (MS. B. M.) of the terror of the excommunications. One of the subjects of France, in fear of his life from a fall from his horse, implores absolution for having followed his sovereign's son to the English war: the Pope would hardly excuse him from a journey to Rome. The Chancellor of the King of Scotland is excommunicate for obeying his King. So too the Archbishop of Glasgow.

[g] Letter to the Abbots of Citeaux and Clairvaux (MS. B. M. i. p. 43). They are to use all mild means of persuasion, to threaten stronger measures.

[h] Wendover, p. 19.

[i] Compare the verses of Giles de Corbeil, p. 69, on the avarice of Gualo in France.

[k] Wendover, p. 33. The inquisitors sent some "suspensos ad legatum et ab omni beneficio spoliatos, qui illorum beneficia suis clericis abundanter distribuit atque de damnis aliorum suos omnes divites fecit." Wendover gives the case of the Bishop of Lincoln, whose example was followed by others, who "sumptibus nimis damnosis gratiam sibi reconciliabant legati. Clericorum vero et canonicorum sæcularium ubique haustu tam immoderato loculos evacuavit," &c. See also Math. Westm. ann. 1218, who describes Gualo returning to Rome, "clitellis auro et argento refertis," having disposed *ad libitum* of the revenues (redditus) of England.

slightest suspicion of the rebellion, were dispossessed of their benefices to make room for foreign priests; the only way to elude degradation was by purchasing the favour of the Legate at a vast price. The Bishop of Lincoln for his restoration to his see paid 1000 marks to the Pope, 100 to the Legate.[m]

Throughout the long reign of Henry III. England was held by successive Popes as a province of the Papal territory. The Legate, like a prætor or proconsul of old, held or affected to hold an undefined supremacy: during the Barons' wars the Pope with a kind of feudal as well as ecclesiastical authority condemned the rebels, not only against their Lord, but against the vassal of the Holy See. England was the great tributary province, in which Papal avarice levied the most enormous sums, and drained the wealth of the country by direct or indirect taxation. There were four distinct sources of Papal revenue from the realm of England.

I. The ancient payment of Peter's Pence;[n] this subsidy to the Pope, as the ecclesiastical sovereign, acknowledged in Saxon times, and admitted by the Conqueror, was regularly assessed in the different dioceses, and transmitted to Rome. Dignitaries of the Church were usually the trea-

[m] Pope Honorius was not well informed on the affairs of England. When Henry was counselled to take up arms to reduce the castles held by the ruffian Fulk de Breauté in defiance of the King and the peace of the realm, the Primate had supported the King and the nobles in this act of necessary justice and order by ecclesiastical censures. The Pope wrote a furious letter of rebuke to Langton (MS. B. M. ix. Aug. 1224), espousing the cause of Fulk, who had through his wealth influence at Rome. Still later Gregory IX. reproves and revokes certain royal grants to Bishops and Barons, as "in grave præjudicium ecclesiæ Romanæ ad quam Regnum Angliæ pertinere dinoscitur, et enormem læsionem ejusdem regni."—MS. B. M. ad regem, vol. xiv. p. 77.

[n] The account of Cencius, the Pope's chamberlain, of the assessment of Peter's pence in the dioceses of England, has been published before by Dr. Lingard, but may be here inserted from MS. B. M.:—

De Cantuarensi Ecclesia .	vii. libras et xviii. solidos.					
De Roffensi	v.	„	xii.	„		
De Londoniensi . . .	xvi.	„	x.	„		
De Norwicensi. . . .	xxi.	„	x.	„		
De Eliensi	v.					
De Lincolniensi . . .	xlii.					
De Cicestriensi . . .	viii.					
De Wintoniensi . . .	xvii.	„	vi.	„	et viii. denarios.	
De Oxoniensi	ix.	„	v.	„		
De Wigorniensi . . .	v.	„	v.	„		
De Herefordensi . . .	vi.					
De Bathoniensi . . .	vi.	„	v.	„		
De Saresberiensi . . .	xviii.					
De Conventriæ . . .	x.	„	v.	„		p. 181.
De Eboracensi	xl.	„	x.	„		

surers who paid it over to Italian bankers in London, the intermediate agents with Rome.

II. The 1000 marks—700 for England, 300 for Ireland—the sign and acknowledgment of feudal vassalage, stipulated by King John, when he took the oath of submission, and made over the kingdom as a fief. Powerful Popes are constantly heard imperiously, necessitous Popes more humbly, almost with supplication, demanding the payment of this tribute and its arrears (for it seems to have been irregularly levied);[o] but during the whole reign of Henry III. and later, no question seems to have been raised of the Pope's right.

III. The benefices held by foreigners, chiefly Italians, and payments to foreign churches out of the property of the English church;[p] the invasion of the English sees by foreign prelates, with its inevitable consequences (or rather antecedents, for John began the practice of purchasing the support of Rome by enriching her Italian clergy), in crowding the English benefices with strangers, and burthening them with persons who never came near them, these abuses as yet only raised deep and suppressed murmurs, ere long to break out into fierce and obstinate resistance. Pandulph, the Papal Legate, became Bishop of Norwich. Pope Honorius writes to Pandulph not merely authorising but urging him to provide a benefice or benefices in his diocese of Norwich for his own (the Bishop's) brother, that brother (a singular plurality) being Archdeacon of Thessalonica.[q] These foreigners were of course more and more odious to the whole realm: to the laity as draining away their wealth without discharging any duties; still more to the clergy as usurping their benefices; though ignorant of the language, affecting superiority in attainments; from their uncongenial manners, and, if they are not belied, unchecked vices. They were bloodsuckers, drawing

[o] Urban IV., MS. B. M. x. p. 29, Dec. 1261. Clement IV., ibid. 12., June 8, 1266.

[p] The convent of Viterbo has a grant of 30 marks from a moiety of the living of Holkham in Norfolk, i. 278; 50 marks from church of Wingham to convent of M. Aureo in Anagni, iii. 110. Claims of another convent in Anagni on benefice in diocese of Winchester, vol. iv. 50. See the grants to John Peter Leone, and others, in Prynne, p. 23. MS. B. M.

[q] Pandulph is by mistake made cardinal; he was sub-deacon of the Roman Church. He is called in the documents Master Pandulph.

out the life, or drones fattening on the spoil of the land. All existing documents show that the jealousy and animosity of the English did not exaggerate the evil.[r] At length, just at the close of his Pontificate, even Pope Honorius, by his Legate Otho, made the bold and open demand that two prebends in every cathedral and conventual church (one from the portion of the Bishop or Abbot, one from that of the Chapter), or the sustentation of one monk, should be assigned in perpetuity to the Church of Rome. On this the nobles interfered in the King's name, inhibiting such alienation. When the subject was brought before a synod at Westminster by the Archbishop, the proposal was received with derisive laughter at the avarice of the see of Rome. Even the King was prompted to this prudent resolution: "When the rest of Christendom shall have consented to this measure, we will consult with our prelates whether it be right to follow their example." The council of Bourges, where the Legate Otho urged the same general demand, had eluded it with the same contemptuous disregard. It was even more menacingly suggested that such general oppression from Rome might lead to a general withdrawal of allegiance from Rome.[s] A.D. 1226.

Five years after the people of England seemed determined to take the affair into their own hands. Terrible letters were distributed by unseen means, and by unknown persons, addressed to the bishops and chapters, to the abbots and friars, denouncing the insolence and avarice of these Romans; positively inhibiting any payments to them from the revenues of their churches; threatening those who paid to burn their palaces and barns over their heads, and to wreak the same vengeance on them which would inevitably fall on the Italians.[t] Cencius, the Pope's collector

[r] MS. B. M. *E. g.*, grant of a church to a consanguineus of the Pope, one Gervaise, excommunicated for favouring the Barons, having been ejected from it, i. p. 233. Transfer from one Italian to another, 235. Grant from Bishop of Durham to Peter Saracen (Civis Romanus) of 40 marks, charged on the See for services done, ii. 158. Requiring a canonry of Lincoln for Thebaldus, scriptor noster, 186. Canonry of Chichester for a son of a Roman citizen.

[s] Wendover, p. 114, 121, 124. "Quia si omnium esset universalis oppressio, posset timeri ne immineret generalis discessio, quod Deus avertat."

[t] Gregory writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury (1234) that the English "ægre non ferant si inter ipsos morantes extranei, honores ibidem et beneficia consequantur, cum apud Deum non est acceptio personarum."—MS. B. M.

of Peter's Pence, a Canon of St. Paul's, was suddenly carried off by armed men, with their faces hid under vizors; he returned with his bags well rifled, after five weeks' imprisonment. John of Florence, Archdeacon of Norwich, escaped the same fate, and concealed himself in London. Other aggressive measures followed. The barns of the Italian clergy were attacked; the corn sold or distributed to the poor. It might seem almost a simultaneous rising; though the active assailants were few, the feelings of the whole people were with them.[u] At one place (Wingham) the sheriff was obliged, as it appeared, to raise an armed force to keep the peace; the officers were shown letters-patent (forged as was said) in the King's name, authorising the acts of the spoiler: they looked on, not caring to examine the letters too closely, in quiet unconcern at the spoliation. The Pope (Gregory IX.) issued an angry Bull,[x] which not only accused the Bishops of conniving at these enormities, and of making this ungrateful return for the good offices which he had shown to the King; he bitterly complained of the ill usage of his Nuncios and officers. One had been cut to pieces, another left half dead; the Pope's Bulls had been trampled under foot. The Pope demanded instant, ample, merciless punishment of the malefactors, restoration of the damaged property. Robert Twenge, a bold Yorkshire knight, who under a feigned name had been the ringleader, appeared before the King, owned himself to have been the William Wither who had headed the insurgents; he had done all this in righteous vengeance against the Romans, who by a sentence of the Pope, fraudulently obtained, had deprived him of the right of patronage to a benefice. He had rather be unjustly excommunicated than despoiled of his right. He was recommended to go to Rome with testimonials from the King for absolution, and this was all.[y] The abuse, however, will appear yet rampant, when we return to the history of the English Church.

A.D. 1232.

IV. The taxation of the clergy (a twentieth, fifteenth,

[u] The Pope so far admitted the justice of these complaints as to issue a bull allowing the patrons to present after the death of the Italian incumbents.—MS. B. M. iii. 138. Gregory IX. said that he had less frequently used this power of granting benefices in England.—Wilkin's Concilia, i. 269.

[x] Apud Rymer, dated Spoleto.

[y] Wendover, 292.

or tenth) as a subsidy for the Holy Land; but a subsidy grudgingly paid, and not devoted with too rigid exclusiveness to its holy purpose. Some portion of this was at times thrown, as it were, as a boon to the King (in general under a vow to undertake a Crusade), but applied by him without rebuke or remonstrance to other purposes. This tax was on the whole property of the Church, of the secular clergy and of the monasteries. Favour was sometimes (not always) shown to the Cistercians, the Præmonstratensians, the Monks of Sempringham—almost always to the Templars and Knights of St. John. Other emoluments arose out of the Crusades; compositions for vows not fulfilled; besides what arose out of bequests, the property of intestate clergy, and other sources. The Popes seem to have had boundless notions of the wealth and weakness of England. England paid, murmured, but laid up deep stores of alienation and aversion from the Roman See.[z]

[z] Clement IV. (Viterbo, May 22, 1266) orders his collector to get in all arrears "de censibus, denariis Sancti Petri, et debitis quibuscunque." Of these debts there is a long list. "Aut ex voto seu promisso, decimâ vel vicesimâ, seu redemptionibus votorum tam crucesignatorum quam aliorum, vel depositis vel testamentamentis (sic) aut bonis clericorum decedentium ab intestato seu aliâ quâcunque ratione modo vel causâ eisdem sedi Apostolicæ et terræ sanctæ vel alteri earum a quibuscunque personis debentur." The collectors had power to excommunicate for non-payment.—MS. B. M. xii.

CHAPTER XIII.

FREDERICK II. AND GREGORY IX.

Last strife of Papacy and Empire.

The Empire and the Papacy were now to meet in their last mortal and implacable strife; the two first acts of this tremendous drama, separated by an interval of many years, were to be developed during the Pontificate of a prelate who ascended the throne of St. Peter at the age of eighty. Nor was this strife for any specific point in dispute like the right of investiture, but avowedly for supremacy on one side, which hardly deigned to call itself independence; for independence, on the other, which remotely at least aspired after supremacy. Cæsar would bear no superior, the successor of St. Peter no equal. The contest could not have begun under men more strongly contrasted, or more determinedly oppugnant in character than Gregory IX. and Frederick II. Gregory retained the ambition, the vigour, almost the activity of youth, with the stubborn obstinacy, and something of the irritable petulance of old age. He was still master of all his powerful faculties; his knowledge of affairs, of mankind, of the peculiar interests of almost all the nations in Christendom, acquired by long employment in the most important negotiations both by Innocent III. and by Honorius III.; eloquence which his own age compared to that of Tully; profound erudition in that learning which, in the mediæval churchman, commanded the highest admiration. No one was his superior in the science of the canon law; the Decretals to which he afterwards gave a more full and authoritative form, were at his command, and they were to him as much the law of God as the Gospels themselves, or the primary principles of morality. The jealous reverence and attachment of a

Gregory IX.

great lawyer to his science strengthened the lofty pretensions of the churchman.[a]

Frederick II. with many of the noblest qualities which could captivate the admiration of his own age, in some respects might appear misplaced, and by many centuries prematurely born. Frederick having crowded into his youth adventures, perils, successes, almost unparalleled in history, was now only expanding into the prime of manhood. A parentless orphan he had struggled upward into the actual reigning monarch of his hereditary Sicily; he was even then rising above the yoke of the turbulent magnates of his realm, and the depressing tutelage of the Papal See; he had crossed the Alps a boyish adventurer, and won, so much through his own valour and daring that he might well ascribe to himself his conquest, the kingdom of Germany, the imperial crown; he was in undisputed possession of the Empire, with all its rights in Northern Italy; King of Apulia, Sicily, and Jerusalem. He was beginning to be at once the Magnificent Sovereign, the knight, the poet, the lawgiver, the patron of arts, letters, and science; the Magnificent Sovereign now holding his court in one of the old barbaric and feudal cities of Germany among the proud and turbulent princes of the Empire, more often on the sunny shores of Naples or Palermo, in southern and almost Oriental luxury; the gallant Knight and troubadour Poet not forbidding himself those amorous indulgences which were the reward of chivalrous valour, and of the "gay science;" the Lawgiver, whose far-seeing wisdom seemed to anticipate some of those views of equal justice, of the advantages of commerce, of the cultivation of the arts of peace, even the toleration of adverse religions, which even in a more dutiful son of the church would doubtless have seemed godless indifference. Frederick must appear before us in the course of our history in the full development of all these shades of character; but besides all this

Frederick II.

[a] Epist. Honor., 14th March, 1221. He is described as "Forma decorus et venustus aspectu, perspicuus ingenii et fidelis memoriæ prerogativâ donatus, liberalium artium et utriusque juris peritiâ eminenter instructus, fluvius eloquentiæ Tullianæ, sacræ paginæ diligens observator et doctor, zelator fidei." —Cardin. Arragon. Vit. Greg. IX.

Frederick's views of the temporal sovereignty were as imperious and autocratic as those of the haughtiest churchman of the spiritual supremacy. The ban of the Empire ought to be at least equally awful with that of the Church; disloyalty to the Emperor was as heinous a sin as infidelity to the head of Christendom; the independence of the Lombard republics was as a great and punishable political heresy. Even in Rome itself, as head of the Roman Empire, Frederick aspired to a supremacy which was not less unlimited because vague and undefined, and irreconcileable with that of the Supreme Pontiff. If ever Emperor might be tempted by the vision of a vast hereditary monarchy to be perpetuated in his house, the princely house of Hohenstaufen, it was Frederick. He had heirs of his greatness; his eldest son was King of the Romans; from his loins might yet spring an inexhaustible race of princes: the failure of his imperial line was his last fear. The character of the man seemed formed to achieve and to maintain this vast design; he was at once terrible and popular, courteous, generous, placable to his foes; yet there was a depth of cruelty in the heart of Frederick towards revolted subjects, which made him look on the atrocities of his allies, Eccelin di Romano, and the Salinguerras, but as legitimate means to quell insolent and stubborn rebellion.

The loftier churchmen, if for a moment they had misgivings on account of his age, hailed the election of Cardinal Ugolino with the utmost satisfaction. The surpassing magnificence of his coronation attested the unanimous applause of the clergy, and even of the people of Rome.[b] Gregory had in secret murmured against the gentler and more yielding policy of Honorius III. Of such weakness he could not accuse himself. The old man at once threw down the gauntlet; on the day of his accession[c] he issued an energetic proclamation to all the sovereigns of Christendom announcing his election to the pontificate, and summoning

Gregory IX.

Gregory's first act.

[b] "Tunc lugubres vestes mutavit Ecclesia, et urbis semirutæ mœnia pristinum recepere fulgorem."— Cardin. Arragon. in Vit. See description of the inauguration.

[c] 1227, March 18. Raynaldi Annal.

them to enter on a new Crusade; that addressed to Frederick was more direct, vehement, and imperative, and closed not without some significant hints that he would not long brook the delay with which the Emperor had beguiled his predecessor.[d] The King's disobedience might involve him in difficulties from which the Pope himself, even if he should so will, could hardly extricate him.[e]

Frederick, in the height of their subsequent contest, reproached the Pope as having been, while in the lower orders of the Church, his familiar friend, but that no sooner had he reached the height of his ambition than he threw off all gratitude, and became his determined enemy.[f] Yet his congratulations on the accession of Gregory were expressed in the most courtly tone. The Bishop of Reggio, and Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic order, were his ambassadors to Rome. Gregory, on his side, with impartial severity, compelled the Lombards to fulfil and ratify the treaty which had been agreed to through the mediation of Honorius. Frederick had already transmitted to Rome the documents which were requisite for the full execution of the stipulations on his part, the general amnesty, the revocation of the Imperial ban, the release of the prisoners, the assent of King Henry. The Lombards were not so ready or so open in their proceedings. Gregory was constrained to send a strong summons to the Lombards declaring that he would no longer be tampered with by their idle and frivolous excuses: "If in this important affair ye despise, mock, or elude our commands and those of God, nothing remains for us but to invoke heaven and earth against your insolence."[g] The treaty arrived in Rome the day after this summons had been despatched, wanting the seal

March 24.

[d] "Alioquin quantumcunque te sincerâ diligamus in Domino charitate, et tibi quantum in Domino possumus deferre velimus, id dissimulare nullâ poterimus ratione."—Epistol. ad Frederic. apud Raynaldi, March 23.

[e] "Nequaquam nos et teipsum in illam necessitatem inducas, de quâ forsan te de facili non poterimus, etiamsi voluerimus, expedire."—Ibid.

[f] "Iste novus athleta, sinistris auspiciis factus Pontifex Generalis, amicus noster præcipuus dum in minoribus ordinibus constitutus, beneficiorum omnium quibus Imperium Christianum sacrosanctam ditavit Ecclesiam oblitus, statim post assumptum suum fidem cum tempore varians et mores cum dignitate commutans."—Petr. de Vineâ, Epistol. i. xvi.

[g] Regest. Gregor., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 416.

of the Marquis of Montferrat, and of many of the cities; but Gregory would not be baffled; the Archbishop of Milan received orders to menace the cities by ecclesiastical censures, and the treaty came back with all the necessary ratifications. In this Gregory pursued the politic as well as the just course. The Emperor must not have this plausible excuse to elude his embarkation on the Crusade at the appointed day in August. The Lombards themselves were imperatively urged to furnish their proper contingent for the Holy War. Gregory IX. knew Lombardy well, it had been the scene of his own preaching of the Cross; and the sagacious fears of the Church (the stipulations in the treaty of Honorius betrayed this sagacity and these fears) could not but discern that however these proud republics might be heartily Guelfic, cordially on the side of the Church, they were only so from their common jealousy of the Empire. But there was that tacit understanding, or at least unacknowledged sympathy, between civil and religious liberty, which must be watched with vigilant mistrust. It was manifest that the respect for their bishops in all these republics depended entirely on the political conduct of the prelates, not on the sanctity of their office. There was a remissness or reluctance in the suppression of heresy, and in the punishment of heretics, which required constant urgency and rebuke on the part of the Pope: "Ye make a great noise," writes Gregory, "about fines imposed, and sentences of exile against heretics; but ye quietly give them back their fines, and admit them again into your cities. In the mean time ye regard not the immunities of the clergy, neither their exemption from taxation nor their personal freedom; ye even permit enactments injurious to their defence of their liberties, enactments foolish and culpable, even to their banishment by the laity. Take heed, lest a more fearful interdict than that with which you have been punished (the ban of the Empire) fall upon you, the interdict of the Church."[h]

But the Pope was not content with general exhortations to the Emperor to embark on the Crusade: he assumed

[h] Regesta, ibid. p. 417.

the privilege of his holy office and of his venerable age to admonish the young and brilliant Frederick on his life, and on the duties of his imperial dignity. June 8.
The address was sent from Anagni, to which the Pope had retired from the heats of Rome, by the famous Gualo, one of the austere Order of Friar Preachers instituted by St. Dominic.[1] The letter dwelt in the highest terms on the wonderful mental endowments of Frederick, his reason quickened with the liveliest intelligence, and winged by the brightest imagination. The Pope entreats him not to degrade the qualities which he possesses in common with the angels, nor to sacrifice them to the lower appetites, which he has in common with the beasts and the plants of the earth. The love of sensual things debases the intellect, the pampering of the delicate body corrupts the affections. If knowledge and love, those twin lights, are extinguished; if those eagles which should soar in triumph stoop and entangle themselves with earthly pleasures, how canst thou show to thy followers the way of salvation? "Far be it from thee to hold up this fatal example of thraldom to the sensual life. Your justice should be the pillar of fire, your mercy the cooling cloud to lead God's chosen people into the land of promise." He proceeds to a strange mystic interpretation of the five great ensigns of the imperial power; the inward meaning of all these mysterious symbols, the cross, the lance, the triple crown, the sceptre, and the golden apple: this he would engrave indelibly with an iron pen on the adamantine tablets of the king's heart.[k] Gregory's letter of admonition.

It were great injustice to the character of Gregory to attribute this high-toned, however extravagantly mystic, remonstrance to the unworthy motives of ambition or animosity. The severe old man might, not without grounds, take offence at the luxury, the splendour, the sensuality of Frederick's Sicilian court, the freedom at least, if not licence of Frederick's life. It Court of Frederick.

[1] The Cardinal Ugolino had been the first to foresee the tremendous power of the new Orders. He had been their firm protector: they were bound to him, especially the Franciscans, not only by profound reverence, but by passionate personal attachment.

[k] Epistola Gregor. apud Raynaldi Anagni, June 8.

was the zeal, perhaps of a monk, but yet the honest and religious zeal. Frederick's predilection for his native kingdom, for the bright cities reflected in the blue Mediterranean, over the dark barbaric towns of Germany, of itself characterises the man. The summer skies, the more polished manners, the more elegant luxuries, the knowledge, the arts, the poetry, the gaiety, the beauty, the romance of the South, were throughout his life more congenial to his mind than the heavier and more chilly climate, the feudal barbarism, the ruder pomp, the coarser habits of his German liegemen. Among the profane sayings attributed to Frederick (who was neither guarded nor discreet in his more mirthful conversation, and as his strife with the Church grew fiercer would not become more reverential) sayings caught up, and no doubt sharpened by his enemies, was that memorable one —that God would never have chosen the barren land of Judæa for his own people if he had seen his beautiful and fertile Sicily. And no doubt that delicious climate and lovely land, so highly appreciated by the gay sovereign, was not without influence on the state, and even the manners of his court, to which other circumstances contributed to give a peculiar and romantic character. It resembled probably (though its full splendour was of a later period) Granada in its glory, more than any other in Europe, though more rich and picturesque from the variety of races, of manners, usages, even dresses, which prevailed within it. Here it was that Southern and Oriental luxury began to impart its mysteries to Christian Europe. The court was open to the mingled population which at that time filled the cities of Southern Italy. If anything of Grecian elegance, art, or luxury survived in the West it was in the towns of Naples and Sicily. There the Norman chivalry, without having lost their bold and enterprising bearing, had yielded in some degree to the melting influence of the land, had acquired Southern passions, Southern habits. The ruder and more ferocious German soldiery, as many as were spared by the climate, gradually softened, at least in their outward demeanour. The Jews were numerous, enlightened, wealthy.

The Mohammedan inhabitants of Sicily were neither the least polished, nor the least welcome at the court of Frederick: they were subsiding into loyal subjects of the liberal Christian King; and Frederick was accused by his enemies, and even then believed by the Asiatic and Egyptian Mussulmen, to have approximated more closely to their manners, even to their creed, than became a Christian Emperor. He spoke their tongue, admired and cultivated their science, caused their philosophy to be translated into the Latin language. In his court their Oriental manners yielded to the less secluded habits of the West. It was one of the grave charges, at a later period, that Saracen women were seen at the court of Palermo, who by their licentiousness corrupted the morals of his Christian subjects. Frederick admitted the truth of the charge, but asserted the pure demeanour and chastity of these Mohammedan ladies: nevertheless, to avoid all future scandal, he consented to dismiss them. This at a time when abhorrence of the Mohammedan was among the first articles of a Christian's creed; when it would have been impious to suppose a Mohammedan man capable of any virtue except of valour, a Mohammedan female of any virtue at all! The impression made by this inclination for the society of miscreant ladies, its inseparable connection with Mohammedan habits, transpires in the Guelfic character of Frederick by Villani. The Florentine does ample justice to his noble and kingly qualities, to the universality of his genius and knowledge, "but he was dissolute and abandoned to every kind of luxury. After the manner of the Saracens he had many concubines, and was attended by Mamelukes; he gave himself up to sensual enjoyments, and led an epicurean life, taking no thought of the world to come, and this was the principal reason of his enmity to Holy Church and to the hierarchy, as well as his avarice in usurping the possessions and infringing on the jurisdiction of the clergy."[m]

It was in this Southern kingdom that the first rude notes of Italian poetry were heard in the soft Sicilian dialect. Frederick himself, and his Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, were promising pupils in the gay science. Among

[m] Istorie Fiorentin. vi. c. 1.

the treasures of the earliest Italian song are several compositions of the monarch and of his poetic rival. One sonnet indeed of Peter de Vineâ is perhaps equal to anything of the kind before the time when Petrarch set the common thoughts of all these amorous Platonists in the perfect crystals of his inimitable language. Of these lays most which survive are amatory, but it is not unlikely that as the kindred troubadours of Provence, the poets did not abstain from satiric touches on the clergy. How far Frederick himself indulged in more than poetic licence the invectives of his enemies cannot be accepted as authority. It was during his first widowhood that he indulged the height of his passion for the beautiful Bianca Lancia; this mistress bore him two sons, his best beloved Enzio, during so many years of his more splendid career the pride, the delight of his heart, unrivalled for his beauty, the valiant warrior, the consummate general, the cause, by his imprisonment, of the bitterest grief, which in his decline bowed down his broken spirit. Enzio was born at the close of the year in which Frederick wedded Iolante of Jerusalem. The fact that Iolante died in childbed giving birth to his son Conrad, is at least evidence that he had not altogether estranged her from his affections. In public she had all the state and splendour of his queen; nor is it known that during her lifetime her peace was embittered by any more cherished rivals.

Still if this brilliant and poetic state of society (even if at this time it was only expanding to its fulness of luxury and splendour) must appear dubious at least to the less severe Christian moralist, how must it have appeared to those who had learned their notions of morals from the rule of St. Benedict rather than the Gospel; the admirers of Francis and of Dominic; men in whom human affections were alike proscribed with sensual enjoyments, and in whose religious language, to themselves at least, pleasure bore the same meaning as sin; men, who had prayed, and fasted, and scourged out of themselves every lingering sympathy of our common nature? How, above all, to one in whom, as in Gregory IX., age had utterly frozen up a heart, already hardened by the austerest dis-

cipline of monkhood? It is impossible to conceive a contrast more strong or more irreconcileable than the octogenarian Gregory, in his cloister palace, in his conclave of stern ascetics, with all but severe imprisonment within conventual walls, completely monastic in manners, habits, views, in corporate spirit, celibacy, in rigid seclusion from the rest of mankind, in the conscientious determination to enslave, if possible, all Christendom to its inviolable unity of faith, and to the least possible latitude of discipline; and the gay, and yet youthful Frederick, with his mingled assemblage of knights and ladies, of Christians, Jews and Mohammedans, of poets and men of science, met, as it were, to enjoy and minister to enjoyment; to cultivate the pure intellect: where, if not the restraints of religion, at least the awful authority of churchmen, was examined with freedom, sometimes rediculed with sportive wit.

A few months were to put to the test the obedience of Frederick to the See of Rome, perhaps his Christian fidelity. By the treaty of St. Germano, the August of the present year had been fixed for his embarkation for the Holy Land. Gregory, it is clear, A.D. 1227. mistrusted his sincerity; with what justice it is hard to decide. However Frederick might be wanting in fervent religious zeal, he was not in the chivalrous love of enterprise; however he might not abhor the Mohammedans with the true Christian cordiality of his day, he would not decline to meet them in arms as brave and generous foes; however the recovery of the Saviour's tomb might not influence him with the fierce enthusiasm which had kindled the hearers of Peter the Hermit or St. Bernard, or perhaps that which sent forth his grandsire, Barbarossa: yet an Oriental kingdom, which he claimed in the right of his wife, a conquest which would have commanded the grateful admiration of Christendom, was a prize which his ambition would hardly disdain, or rather at which it would grasp with bold eagerness. Frederick was personally brave; but neither was his finer, though active and close-knit frame, suited to hew his way through hosts of unbelievers; he aspired not, and could not hope, to rival the

ferocious personal prowess of our Richard Cœur de Lion, or to leave his name as the terror of Arabian mothers. Nor would his faith behold Paradise as the assured close of a battle-field with the Infidels, the remission of sins as the sure reward of a massacre of the believers in Islam. Frederick was not averse to obtain by negotiation (and surely, with the warnings of all former Crusades, especially that of his grandsire Barbarossa, not unwisely), and by taking advantage of the feuds between the Saracen princes, those conquests which some would deem it impious to strive after but by open war. Frederick had already received an embassy from Sultan Malek-al-Kameel of Egypt (of this the Pope could hardly be ignorant). Between the Egyptian and Damascene descendants of the great Saladin there was implacable hostility. Kameel had now recovered Damietta;[n] he had made a treaty with the discomfited Crusaders. He hated his rival of Damascus even more bitterly than he did the Christians. His offers to Frederick were the surrender of the kingdom of Jerusalem, on condition of close alliance against the Sultan of Damascus.

Negotiations with Sultan Kameel.

Frederick had despatched to the East an ambassador of no less rank than the Archbishop of Palermo. The Prelate bore magnificent and acceptable presents, horses, arms, it was said the Emperor's own palfrey.[o] In the January of the following year the Archbishop had returned to Palermo, with presents, according to the Eastern authority, of twice the value of his own; many rare treasures from India, Arabia, Syria, and Irak. Among these, to the admiration of the Occidentals, was a large elephant.[p] To the Pope, the negotiations themselves were unanswerable signs of Frederick's favour to the Infidels, and his perfidy to the cause of the Christians.[q]

[n] In the fierce invectives of their later controversy, the Papal party attributed to the tardiness, even to the treachery of Frederick, the disastrous loss of Damietta. If he had accompanied the first German division of the German Crusaders the Christians would not have been without a leader; and with his fame and power he might, by the conquest of Egypt, have re-established, and for ever, the Christian dominion in the East. But Frederick certainly could not have gone at that time with a force equal to this great enterprise.

[o] Ebn Férah, quoted in Michaud's Bibliographie des Croisades, p. 727.

[p] Richd. de S. German. p. 1604. Makrisi apud Reinaud. Hugo Plagen.

[q] The letter of Gregory IX. in Math. Paris. "Quod detestabilius est, cum

Yet Frederick seemed earnestly determined to fulfil his vow. Though the treaty with the Lombard cities was hardly concluded, he had made vast preparations. He had levied a large tax from the whole kingdom of Sicily for the maintenance of his forces;[r] a noble fleet rode in the harbour of Brundusium: Frederick himself, with his Empress Iolante, passed over from Sicily and took up their abode in Otranto.

Pilgrims in the mean time had been assembling from various quarters. In Germany, at a great Diet at Aix-la-Chapelle, in the presence of King Henry, many of the Princes and Prelates had taken the Cross. Some of these, especially the Duke of Austria, alleged excuses from their vow. But the Landgrave of Thuringia, the husband of Elizabeth of Hungary, afterwards sainted for her virtues, tore himself from his beloved wife in the devotion to what both esteemed the higher duty.[s] The Bishops of Augsburg, Bamberg, and Ratisbon accompanied the Landgrave to Italy. France seemed for once to be cold in the Holy cause (Louis IX. was in his infancy), but in England there had been a wide-spread popular movement. On the vigil of John the Baptist's day it was rumoured abroad, that the Saviour himself had appeared in the heavens, bleeding, pierced with the nails and lance, on a cross which shone like fire.[t] It was to encourage forty thousand pilgrims, who were said already to have taken the Cross. This was seen more than once in different places, in order to confute the incredulous gainsayers. But of those forty thousand who were enrolled, probably no large proportion reached Southern Italy.

Preparations for Crusade.

England.

The Emperor, hardly released from the affairs of

Soldano et aliis Saracenis nefandas (Fredericus) contrahens pactiones illis favorem, Christianis odium exhibet manifestum."—Sub ann. 1228, p. 348. On these rumours of the understanding between the Emperor and Sultan Kameel no doubt Gregory founded his darker charge of Frederick's having compelled the surrender of Damietta, not only by withholding all relief from the Christians when masters of it, but by direct and treacherous intercourse with the Soldan.

[r] Richard de St. German, p. 1103. Alberic, ad ann. 1227. The monastery of St. Germano was assessed at 450 ounces.

[s] Montalembert, Vie de St. Elizabeth de Hongrie.

[t] Wendover, p. 144. The reading in Paris for quadraginta is sexaginta. Ed. Coxe, p. 144.

Northern Italy, was expected to have provisions and ships ready for the transport of all this vast undisciplined rout, of which no one could calculate the numbers. Delays took place, which the impatient Pope, ignorant no doubt of the difficulties of maintaining and embarking a great armament, ascribed at once to the remissness or the perfidy of Frederick. The heats came on with more than usual violence, they were such, it is said, as might have melted solid metal.[u] A fever broke out fatal, as ever, to the Germans.[x] The Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and of Angers were among its victims; the pilgrims perished by thousands. The death of the Landgrave was attributed not only to the wanton delay, but even to poison administered by the orders of Frederick, who, in his insatiate rapacity, coveted the large possessions of the Prince. About the appointed day Frederick himself embarked; the fleet set sail; it lost sight of the shore;—but three days after the Imperial ship was seen returning hastily to the haven of Otranto; Frederick, alleging severe illness, returned to the baths of Pozzuoli, to restore his strength. The greater part of the fleet either dispersed or, following the Emperor's example, returned to land.

Excommunication of Frederick. Sept. 30.

Gregory heard at Anagni (the year of Gregory's accession had not yet expired) the return of Frederick, the dissolution of the armament. On St. Michael's Day, surrounded by his Cardinals and Prelates, he delivered a lofty discourse, on the text, "It must needs be that offences come, but woe unto him through whom they come." He pronounced the excommunication, which Frederick had incurred by his breach of the agreement at St. Germano. Nothing was wanting to the terror. All the bells joined their most dissonant peals; the clergy, each with his torch, stood around the altar. Gregory implored the eternal malediction of God against the Emperor. The clergy dashed down their torches: there was utter

[u] "Cujus ardoribus ipsa ferè solida metalla liquescunt."—Card. Arragon. in Vit. Greg. IX.

[x] An impostor placed himself on the steps of St. Peter's, in the attire and character of the Pope, and publicly sold indulgences, releasing the pilgrims from their vows. After carrying on this strange bold fraud for some days, he was apprehended, and paid the penalty of his imposture.—Raynald. sub ann.

darkness. The churchmen saw in this sentence the beginning of the holy strife, of the triumph of St. Michael over the subtle and scaly dragon. The sentence was followed by an address to the Apulian bishops, the subjects of Frederick. "The little bark of St. Peter, launched on the boundless ocean, though tossed by the billows, is submerged but never lost, for the Lord is reposing within her: he is awakened at length by the cries of his disciples; he commands the sea and the winds, and there is a great calm. From four quarters the tempests are now assailing our bark; the armies of the Infidels are striving with all their might that the land, hallowed by the blood of Christ, may become the prey of their impiety; the rage of tyrants, asserting their temporal claims, proscribes justice and tramples under foot the liberties of the Church: the folly of heretics seeks to rend the seamless garment of Christ, and to destroy the Sacraments of the faith; false brethren and wicked sons, by their treacherous perversity, disturb the bowels and tear open the sides of their mother." "The Church of Christ, afflicted by so many troubles, while she thinks that she is nursing up her children, is fostering in her bosom fire and serpents and basilisks,[y] which would destroy everything by their breath, their bite, and their burning. To combat these monsters, to triumph over hostile armies, to appease these restless tempests, the Holy Apostolic See reckoned in these latter times on a nurseling whom she had brought up with the tenderest care; the Church had taken up the Emperor Frederick, as it were, from his mother's womb, fed him at her breasts, borne him on her shoulders; she had often rescued him from those who sought his life; instructed him, educated him with care and pain to manhood; invested him with the royal dignity; and to crown all these blessings, bestowed on him the title of Emperor, hoping to find in him a protecting support, a staff for her old age. No sooner was he King in Germany than, of his own accord, unexhorted, unknown to the Apostolic See, he took the Cross and made a vow to depart for the Holy Land; he even demanded that himself and all other Cru-

[y] Regulos.

saders should be excommunicated if they did not set forth at the appointed time. At his coronation as Emperor we ourselves, then holding an inferior office under the most Holy Honorius, gave him the Cross, and received the renewal of his vows. Three times at Veroli, at Ferentino, at St. Germano, he alleged delays; the Church in her indulgence accepted his excuses. At St. Germano he made a covenant, which he swore by his soul to accomplish; if not, he incurred by his own consent the most awful excommunication. How has he fulfilled that covenant? When many thousands of pilgrims, depending on his solemn promises, were assembled in the port of Brundusium, he detained the armament so long, under the burning summer heats, in that region of death, in that pestilent atmosphere, that a great part of the pilgrims perished, the noble Landgrave of Thuringia, the Bishops of Augsburg and Angers. At length, when the ships began to return from the Holy Land, the pilgrims embarked on board of them, on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, expecting the Emperor to join their fleet. But he, breaking all his promises, bursting every bond, trampling under foot the fear of God, despising all reverence for Christ Jesus, scorning the censures of the Church, deserting the Christian army, abandoning the Holy Land to the Unbelievers, to his own disgrace and that of all Christendom, withdrew to the luxuries and wonted delights of his kingdom, seeking to palliate his offence by frivolous excuses of simulated sickness.[x]

"Behold, and see if ever sorrow was like unto the sorrow" of the Apostolic Pontiff. The Pope describes in pathetic terms the state of the Holy Land; attributes to the base intrigues of Frederick with the Unbelievers, the fatal issue of the treaty of Damietta; "but for him, Jerusalem might have been recovered in exchange for that

[x] Compare with this statement Frederick's own account, published to the world three months after. Both he and the Landgrave had been ill; both had a relapse; both returned to Otranto, where the Landgrave died. "Præterea nondum resumptâ convalescentiâ, galeas ingressi sumus, nos et dilectus consanguineus noster Lantgravius, vestigia præcedentium secuti. Ubi tanta subito invasit utrumque turbatio, quod et nos in graviorem decidimus recidivam, et idem Lantgravius post accessum nostrum apud Idrontum de medio, proh dolor! est ereptus."—Epist. Frederic. If this was untrue it was a most audacious and easily confuted untruth.

city. That we may not be esteemed as dumb dogs, who dare not bark, or fear to take vengeance on him, the Emperor Frederick, who has caused such ruin to the people of God, we proclaim the said Emperor excommunicate; we command you to publish this our excommunication throughout the realm; and to declare, that in case of his contumacy, we shall proceed to still more awful censures. We trust, however, that he will see his own shame; and return to the mercy of his mother the Church, having given ample satisfaction for all his guilt."

Gregory IX. had been on the throne of St. Peter not eight months before he uttered this fulminating decree; in which some truth is so confounded and kneaded up with falsehood and exaggeration; and there is so much of reckless wrath, such want of calm, statesman-like dignity, such deliberate, almost artful determination to make the worst of everything. The passionate old man might seem desperately to abandon all hopes of future success in the Holy Land; and to take vindictive comfort in heaping all the blame on Frederick.[a]

Gregory returned to Rome; Frederick had already sent ambassadors solemnly to assert that his illness was real and unfeigned, the Bishops of Bari and Reggio, and Reginald of Spoleto. By one account, the Pope refused to admit them to his presence: at all events, he repelled them with the utmost scorn, and so persisted in branding the Emperor in the face of Christendom as a hypocrite and a liar.[b]

Twice again, on St. Martin's Day and on Christmas Day, the Pope, amid all the assembled hierarchy, renewed and confirmed the excommunication. Frederick treated the excommunication itself with utter contempt; either through love or fear the clergy of the kingdom of Naples performed as usual all the sacred offices. At Capua he held a Diet of all the Barons of Apulia; he assessed a

[a] "Hic (Gregorius IX.) tanquam superbus primo anno pontificatus sui cœpit excommunicare Fredericum Imperatorem pro causis frivolis et falsis." —Abb. Urspergens. p. 247.

[b] There is a letter to Frederick, quoted in Raynaldus, in a milder tone, declaring that the Pope had been blamed for the mansuetude of his proceedings; because he had not also censured him for many acts of tyranny and invasion on the rights of the Church in Naples and Sicily.

tax on both the kingdoms for an expedition to the Holy Land, appointed for the ensuing May. He summoned an assemblage of all his Italian subjects to meet at Ravenna, to take counsel for this common Crusade. From Capua came forth his defiant appeal to Christendom.[b] In this appeal Frederick replied to the unmeasured language of the Pope in language not less unmeasured. He addressed all the Sovereigns of Christendom; he urged them to a league of all temporal Kings to oppose this oppressive league of the Pope and the Hierarchy. He declared that he had been prevented from accomplishing his vow, not, as the Pope falsely averred, by frivolous excuses, but by serious illness; he appealed to the faithful witness in Heaven for his veracity; he declared his fixed determination, immediately that God should restore him to health, to proceed on that holy expedition. "The end of all is at hand; the Christian charity which should rule and maintain all things is dried up in its fountain not in its streams, not in its branches but in its stem. Has not the unjust interdict of the Pope reduced the Count of Toulouse and many other princes to servitude? Did not Innocent III. (this he especially addressed to King Henry of England) urge the noble Barons of England to insurrection against John, as the enemy of the Church? But no sooner had the humiliated King subjected his realm, like a dastard, to the See of Rome, than, having sucked the fat of the land, he abandoned those Barons to shame, ruin, and death. Such is the way of Rome, under words as smooth as oil and honey lies hid the rapacious blood-sucker: the Church of Rome, as though she were the true Church, calls herself my mother and my nurse, while all her acts have been those of a stepmother. The whole world pays tribute to the avarice of the Romans. Her Legates travel about through all lands, with full powers of ban and interdict and excommunication, not to sow the seed of the word of God, but to extort money, to reap what they have not sown. They spare not the holy churches, nor the sanctuaries of the poor, nor the rights of prelates. The primitive Church, founded on poverty and simplicity, brought forth

[b] Rich. de San. Germ.

numberless Saints: she rested on no foundation but that which had been laid by our Lord Jesus Christ. The Romans are now rolling in wealth; what wonder that the walls of the Church are undermined to the base, and threaten utter ruin."[c] The Emperor concluded with the solemn admonition to all temporal Sovereigns to make common cause against the common adversary: "Your house is in danger when that of your neighbour is on fire." But in all this strife of counter proclamations, the advantage was with the Pope. Almost every pulpit in Christendom might propagate to the ends of the earth the Papal fulminations: every wandering friar might repeat it in the ears of men. The Emperor's vindication, the Imperial ban against the Pope, might be transmitted to Imperial officers, to municipal magistrates, even to friendly prelates or monks; they might be read in diets or burgher meetings, be affixed on town-halls or market places, but among a people who could not read; who would tremble to hear them.[d]

Yet the Emperor had allies, more dangerous to the Pope than the remote Sovereigns of Christendom. Gregory, on his return from Anagni, had been received in Rome with the acclamations of the clergy, and part at least of the people. But in Rome there had always been a strong Imperialist party, a party hostile to the ruling Pontiff. Gregory had already demolished the palaces and castle towers of some of the Roman nobles, which obstructed his view, and no doubt threatened his security in the Lateran:[e] he had met with no open resistance, but such things were not done in Rome without more dangerous secret murmurs. Frederick, by timely succours during a famine in the last winter, had won the hearts of many of the populace. He had made himself friends, especially among the powerful Frangipani, by acts of pro-

[c] Math. Paris, sub ann. 1228. Written no doubt at the end of 1227, Dec. 6; received in England in 1228.

[d] "D'ailleurs les moyens de publicité faciles et puissans dans les mains du Pape, étaient presque nuls dans celles des princes séculiers, qui avant l'imprimerie ne pouvaient que difficilement se faire entendre des masses populaires. Dans cette lutte de paroles l'avantage devoit rester au Saint Siège, puisque la chaire dont il disposait était la seule tribune de ce temps."—Cherrier, Lutte des Papes et des Empereurs, ii. p. 239.

[e] Card. Arragon. in Vita.

digal generosity. He had purchased the lands of the heads of that family, and granted them back without fine as Imperial fiefs. The Frangipanis became the sworn liegemen of the Emperor's family. Roffrid of Benevento, a famous professor of Jurisprudence in Bologna, appeared in Rome and read in public, with the consent of the Senate and people of Rome, the vindication of the Emperor.

On Thursday in the Holy Week the Pope proceeded to his more tremendous censures on the impenitent Frederick. "His crimes had now accumulated in fearful measure. To the triple offence, which he had committed in the breach of the treaty of San Germano—that he had neither passed the sea to the Holy Land, nor armed and despatched the stipulated number of knights at his own cost, nor furnished the sums of money according to his obligation—were added other offences. "He had prevented the Archbishop of Tarento from entering his See; he had seized all the estates held by the Knights Templars and Knights of St. John within his realm; he had broken the treaty entered into and guaranteed by the See of Rome with the Count of Celano and Reginald of Acerra; he had deprived the Count Roger, though he had taken the Cross, of his followers and of his lands, and thrown his son into prison, and had refused to release him at the representation of the Holy See." All these were, in Frederick's estimation, his rebellious subjects, visited with just and lawful penalties. These aggravated crimes—for crimes they were assumed to be on the irrefragable grounds of Papal accusation—called for aggravated censures. The Pope declared every place in which Frederick might be, under interdict; all divine offices were at once to cease; all who dared to celebrate such offices were deprived of their functions and of their benefices. If he himself should dare to force his way into the ceremonies of the Church he was threatened with something worse. If he did not desist from the oppression of the churches and of ecclesiastical persons, if he did not cease from trampling under foot the ecclesiastical liberties, and from treating the excommunication with contempt, all his subjects were at once absolved from their allegiance. He was menaced

March 23. Second excommunication. A.D. 1228.

with the loss of his fief, the kingdom of Naples, which he held from, and for which he had done homage to, the See of Rome. The holy ceremonies passed away undisturbed; but on the Wednesday in Easter week, while the Pope was celebrating the mass, there was suddenly heard a fierce cry, a howl as Gregory describes it; and the whole populace rose in insurrection. The storm was for a time allayed; but after some weeks Gregory found it necessary to leave Rome. He retired first to Reate, afterwards to Perugia.[f] Gregory driven from Rome.

Frederick, in the mean time, although under excommunication, celebrated his Easter with great pomp and rejoicing at Baroli. Tidings had arrived of great importance from the Holy Land. Gregory had received, and had promulgated throughout Christendom, the most doleful accounts of the state of the Christians in Palestine. A letter addressed to the Pope by Gerold the Patriarch, Peter Archbishop of Cæsarea (the Pope's Legate), the Archbishop of Narbonne, the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Grand Masters of the Templars and of St. John, announced, that no sooner had the news of the Emperor's abandonment of the Crusade arrived in Syria, than the pilgrims, to the number of forty thousand, re-embarked for the West. Only eight hundred remained, who were retained with difficulty, and were only kept up to the high pitch of enthusiasm by the promise of the Duke of Limbourg, then at the head of the army, to break the existing treaties, and march at once upon Jerusalem. On the other hand, a letter from Thomas Count of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick in the Holy Land; who now held the city of Ptolemais, announced the death of the Sultan Moadhin of Damascus.[g] Moadhin was the most formidable enemy of the Christians; he had been at the head of a powerful army; his implacable hatred of the Christians had brought all the more warlike Saracens under his banner: he had destroyed many of the strongholds, which, if in the power of the Crusaders, might be March 26.

[f] Rich. San Germ. "Quocirca iidem (the Frangipanis) reversi cum Papa rursus excommunicaret imperatorem, fecerunt ut a populo pelleretur t urpiter extra civitatem." — Conrad. Ursperg. Compare Vit. Greg. IX.

[g] The Christians called him Conradin. —Rich. San Germ.

of military importance: he had subjected Jerusalem itself to further ravage.

All the acts of Frederick now showed his determination to embark before the spring was passed for the Holy Land. He would convince the world, the Pope himself, of his sincerity. Already had he despatched considerable reinforcements to the Count of Acerra; the taxes for the armament were levied with rigour; the army which was to accompany him was drawn together from all quarters. The death of the Empress Iolante in childbirth did not delay these warlike proceedings. To Baroli he summoned all the magnates of the kingdom, to hear his final instructions, to witness his last will and testament, in case he should not return alive from his expedition. No building could contain the vast assemblage: a tribune was raised in the open air, from which the Imperial mandates were read aloud. He exhorted all the barons and prelates with their liegemen to live at peace among themselves, as in the happy days of William II. Reginald Duke of Spoleto was appointed Bailiff of the realm; his elder son Henry was declared heir both of the Empire and of the kingdom of Sicily;[h] if he died without heirs, then Conrad; afterwards any surviving son of Frederick by a lawful wife. This, his last will, could only be annulled by a later authentic testament. The Duke of Spoleto, the Grand Justiciary Henry de Morro, and others of the nobles, swore to the execution of this solemn act.

Frederick prepares for the Crusade.

April, 1228.

Assembly at Baroli.

The more determined Frederick appeared to fulfil his vow, the more resolute became the Pope in his hostility. He had interdicted the payment of all taxes to the excommunicated sovereign by all the prelates, monasteries, and ecclesiastics of his realm.[i] Pilgrims who passed the Alps to join the army were plundered by the Lombards; at the instigation (so, no doubt, it was falsely rumoured, but the falsehood is significant) of the Pope himself.[k] The border of the Neapolitan kingdom was violated by the Pope's subjects of Reate; the powerful Lords of Polito in the Capitanata renounced their allegiance to the King.

[h] Ric. de San Germ. p. 1005. [i] Ric. de San Germ.
[k] Urspergen. sub ann. 1228.

Frederick went down to Brundusium; his fleet, only of twenty galleys, rode off the island of St. Andrew.[m] Messengers from the Pope arrived peremptorily inhibiting his embarkation on the Crusade till he should have given satisfaction to the Church, and been released from her ban. Frederick paid no attention to the mandate; he sailed to Otranto; as he left that harbour, he sent the Archbishop of Bari and Count Henry of Malta to the Pope, to demand the abrogation of the interdict: they were rejected with scorn by Gregory.[n]

Frederick set sail with his small armament of twenty galleys, which contained at most six hundred knights, more, the Pope tauntingly declared, like a pirate than a great sovereign.[o] He could not await, perhaps he had no inclination to place himself at the head of a great Crusade, assembled from all quarters of the world, and so involve himself in a long war which he could not abandon without disgrace. He could not safely withdraw the main part of his forces, and expose his kingdom of Naples to the undisguised hostility of the Pope, with malcontents of all classes, especially the clergy, whom he had been forced to keep down with a strong hand. He was still in secret intelligence with the Sultan of Egypt, still hoped to acquire by peaceful negotiations what his predecessors had not been able to secure by war.[o] Frederick, after a prosperous voyage, landed at Cyprus; there, by acts of violence and treachery (the only account of these transactions is from hostile writers) he wrested the tutelage of the young King from John of Ibelin, whom he invited to a banquet, treated with honour as his own near kinsman, and then compelled to submit to his terms. But as the young King was cousin to his Empress Iolante, his interference, which was solicited by some of the leading men in the island, may have rested on some asserted right as nearest of kin.[p] From Cyprus he sailed to Ptolemais: he was received

Frederick sets sail.

In Cyprus.

At Ptolemais. Sept. 7.

[m] Jordanus, in Raynald. sub ann. Andreas Dandolo, apud Muratori, xii. 544. June or July.

[n] Reg. Gregor., quoted by Von Raumer, p. 445.

[o] See above, p. 322.

[p] The mother of Henry of Cyprus was half-sister to Maria Iolante, the mother of the Empress.

with the utmost demonstrations of joy. The remnant of the pilgrims who had not returned to Europe welcomed their tardy deliverer as about to lead them to conquest; the clergy and the people came forth in long processions; the Knights of the Temple and St. John knelt before the Emperor and kissed his knee; but (inauspicious omen!) the clergy refused the kiss of peace, and declined all intercourse with one under the ban of the Church.[q] At the head of a great force Frederick might have found it difficult to awe into concord the conflicting factions which divided the Christians in the Holy Land: they seemed to suspend their mutual animosities in their common jealousy of Frederick. The cold estrangement of the clergy quickened rapidly into open hostility. The active hatred of the Pope had instantly pursued the Emperor, even faster than his own fleet, to the Holy Land. Two Franciscan friars had been despatched in a fast sailing bark, to proclaim to the Eastern Christians that he was still under excommunication; that all were to avoid him as a profane person. The Patriarch, the two Grand Masters of the Orders, were to take measures that the Crusade was not desecrated by being under the banner of an excommunicated man, lest the affairs of the Christians should be imperilled. The Master of the Teutonic Order was to take the command of the German and Lombard pilgrims; Richard the Marshal and Otho Peliard of the troops of the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Cyprus; in his own camp the Emperor was to be without power, nothing was to be done in his name.[r]

Frederick landed. Sept. 7.

The Knights Templars and Knights of the Hospital hardly required to be stimulated by the Papal censures to the hatred of Frederick. These associations, from bands of gallant knights vowed to protect the pilgrims to the Holy Sepulchre, and to perform other Christian services, had rapidly grown into powerful Orders, with vast possessions in every Christian kingdom; and, themselves not strong enough to maintain the kingdom of Jerusalem, were jealous of all others. As yet they were stern bigots, and had not incurred those

Opposition of the clergy, the Templars, and Hospitallers.

[q] Math. Paris. Urspergens. sub ann. [r] Richard de San Germano, p. 1005.

suspicions which darkened around them at a later period in their history. Frederick had placed them under severe control, with all the other too zealous partisans of the Church, in his realm of Naples and Sicily. This was one of the acts which appears throughout among the charges of tyrannical maladministration in the Apulian kingdom. These religious Orders claimed the same exemptions, the same immunities, with other ecclesiastics: the mere fact that they were submitted to the severe and impartial taxation of Frederick would to them be an intolerable grievance. Their unruly murmurs, if not resistance, would no doubt provoke the haughty sovereign; his haughtiness would rouse theirs to still more inflexible opposition. Perhaps Frederick's favour to the Teutonic Order might further exasperate their jealousy. They had already filled the ears of the Pope with their clamours against Thomas of Acerra, the Lieutenant of Frederick. Gregory had proclaimed to Christendom, to France where the Templars were in great power, that "the worthy vicegerent of Frederick, that minister of Mahomet who scrupled not to employ his impious Saracens of Nocera against Christians and Churchmen in his Apulian kingdom, had openly taken part with the unbelievers against these true soldiers of the Cross." The Saracens, when the suspension of arms was at an end, had attacked a post of the Knights Templars, and had carried off a rich booty. The Templars had pursued the marauders, and rescued part of the spoil; when Thomas of Acerra appeared at the head of his troops, and, instead of siding with the Christians, had compelled them to restore the booty to the Infidels. Such was their version of this affair,[8] eagerly accredited by the Pope. It is more probable that the Lieutenant of the Emperor acted as General of the Christian forces; and that this whole proceeding was in violation of his orders, as it clearly was on both sides, of the existing treaty. The Knights Templars and Hospitallers held themselves as entirely independent powers; fought or refused to fight according

[8] Letter of Gregory to the Legate in France, in Math. Paris. Compare Hugo Plagen. where the Marshal Richard is represented as in command of the pilgrims.

to their own will and judgment; formed no part of one great Christian army; were amenable, in their own estimation, to no superior military rule. If they had refused obedience to the Lieutenant of the Emperor or the King of Jerusalem, they were not likely to receive commands from one under excommunication. Frederick himself soon experienced their utter contumacy. He commanded them to evacuate a castle called the Castle of the Pilgrims, which he wished to garrison with his own troops. The Templars closed the gates in his face, and insultingly told him to go his way, or he might find himself in a place from whence he would not be able to make his way.[1]

Frederick, however, with the main army of the pilgrims was in high popularity; they refused not to march under his standard; he appeared to approve of their determination to break off the treaty, and to advance at once upon Jerusalem. Frederick, to avoid this perpetual collision with his enemies, pitched his camp at Recordana, some distance without the gates of Ptolemais. He then determined to take possession of Joppa, and to build a strong fortress in that city. He summoned all the Christian forces to join him in this expedition. The Templars peremptorily refused, if the war was to be carried on, the orders issued to the camp, in the name of the excommunicated Emperor. Frederick commenced his march without them; but mistrusting the small number of his forces, was obliged to submit that all orders should be issued in the name of God and of Christianity. Frederick's occupation of Joppa, the port nearest to Jerusalem, was not only to obtain possession of a city in which he should be more completely master than in Ptolemais, and to strengthen the Christian cause by the erection of a strong citadel; but as the jealous vigilance of his enemies discerned, to bring himself into closer neighbourhood with the Sultan of Egypt. Kameel, the Babylonian Sultan, as he was called from the Egyptian Babylon (Cairo), was encamped in great force near Gaza. The old amity, and more than the amity, something like a close league between the Sultan of Egypt and the Emperor Frederick, now appeared almost in its full maturity.

[1] Hugo Plagen.

Already, soon after the loss of Damietta and its recovery from the discomfited Christians, Sultan Kameel had sent his embassy to Frederick, avowedly because he was acknowledged to be the greatest of the Christian powers, and in Sicily ruled over Mohammedan subjects with mildness, if not with favour. The interchange of presents had been such as became two such splendid sovereigns.[u] The secret of their negotiations, carried on by the mission of the Archbishop of Palermo to Cairo, of Fakreddin the favourite of Sultan Kameel to Sicily, could be no secret to the watchful emissaries of the Pope.

There had been mortal feud between Malek Kameel of Egypt and Malek Moadhin of Damascus. Malek Moadhin had called in the formidable aid of Gelal-eddin, the Sultan of Kharismia, who had made great conquests in Georgia, the Greater Armenia, and Northern Syria. Sultan Kameel had not scrupled to seek the aid of the Christian against Moadhin; no doubt to Frederick the lure was the peaceful establishment of the kingdom of Jerusalem, in close alliance with the Egyptian Sultan.[x] On the death of Moadhin the Damascene, Sultan Kameel had marched at once into Syria, occupied Jerusalem, and the whole southern district: he threatened to seize the whole dominions of Moadhin. But a third brother, Malek Ashraf, Prince of Khelath, Edessa, and Haran on the Euphrates, took up the cause of David, the young son of Moadhin. The Christians, reinforced by Frederick's first armament under Thomas of Acerra, upon this had taken a more threatening attitude; had begun to rebuild Sidon, to man other fortresses, and to make hostile incursions. Sultan Kameel affected great dread of their power: he addressed a letter to his brother Ashraf, expressing his fears lest, to the disgrace of the Mohammedan name, the Christians should wrest Jerusalem, the great conquest of Saladin, from the hands of the true believers. Ashraf was deceived, or chose to be deceived: he abandoned the cause of the young Sultan of Damascus; he agreed to share in his spoils; Sultan Kameel was to remain in Palestine master of Jerusalem, to oppose the Christians; while Ashraf undertook the

[u] See the Arabian history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. [x] Abulfeda.

siege of Damascus. Such was the state of affairs when Frederick suddenly landed at Ptolemaïs. Sultan Kameel repented that he had invited him; he had sought an ally, he feared a master. The name of the great Christian Emperor spread terror among the whole Mohammedan population.[y] Had Frederick, even though he brought so inconsiderable a force, at once been recognised as the head of the Crusade; had he been joined cordially by the Knights of the Temple and of the Hospital, his name had still been imposing, he might have dictated his own terms. The dissensions of the Christians were fatal—dissensions which could not be disguised from the sagacious Mohammedans.

Almost the first act of King Frederick on his arrival in Palestine was an embassy, of Balian Prince of Tyre and Thomas of Acerra his Lieutenant, to the camp of his old ally Sultan Kameel; they were received with great pomp; the army drawn up in array. The embassy returned to Ptolemaïs with a huge elephant and other costly presents. The negotiations began at the camp of Recordana; they were continued at Joppa. The demands of Frederick were no less than the absolute surrender of Jerusalem and all the adjacent districts; the restoration of his kingdom to its full extent. The Sultan, as much in awe of the zealots of Mohammedanism as Frederick of the zealots of Christianity, alleged almost insuperable difficulties. The Emir Fakreddin, the old friend of Frederick, and another named Shems Eddin, were constantly in the Christian camp, They not merely treated with the accomplished Emperor, who spoke Arabic fluently, on the subjects of their mission, but discussed all the most profound questions of science and philosophy. Sultan Kameel affected the character of a patron of learning; Frederick addressed to him a number of those philosophic enigmas which exercise and delight the ingenious Oriental mind. Their intercourse was compared to that of the Queen of Sheba and Solomon. There were other Eastern amusements not so becoming the Christian Emperor. Christian ladies met the Mohammedan delegates at feasts, it was said with no advantage

[y] Abulfeda.

to their virtue. Among the Sultan's presents was a bevy of dancing girls, whose graceful feats the Emperor beheld with too great interest, and was not, it was said, insensible to their beauty. The Emperor wore the Saracen dress; he became, in the estimation of the stern Churchmen, a Saracen.[z]

The treaty dragged slowly on. Sultan Kameel could not be ignorant of the hostility against Frederick in the Christian camp: if he had been ignorant, the knowledge would have been forced upon him. The Emperor, by no means superior even to the superstition of the land, had determined to undertake a pilgrimage almost alone, and in a woollen robe, to bathe in the Jordan. The Templars wrote a letter to betray his design to the Sultan, that he might avail himself of this opportunity of seizing and making Frederick prisoner, or even of putting him to death. The Sultan sent the letter to the Emperor.[a] From all these causes, the tone of the Sultan naturally rose, that of Frederick was lowered, by the treason of which he was obliged to dissemble his knowledge, as he could not revenge it. Eastern interpreters are wont to translate all demands made of their sovereigns into humble petitions. The Arabian historian has thus, perhaps, selecting a few sentences out of a long address, toned down the words of Frederick to Sultan Kameel to abject supplication. "I am thy friend. Thou art not ignorant that I am the greatest of the Kings of the West. It is thou that hast invited me to this land; the Kings and the Pope are well informed of my journey. If I return having obtained nothing, I shall forfeit all consideration with them. And after all, Jerusalem, is it not the birthplace of the Christian religion? and have you not destroyed it? It is in the lowest state of ruin; out of your goodness surrender it to me as it is, that I may be able to lift up my head among

Negotiations with Sultan Kameel.

[z] "Quod cum maximâ verecundiâ referimus et rubore, Imperatori Soldanus audiens quod secundum morem Saracenicum se haberet, misit cantatrices quæ et saltatrices dicuntur, et joculatores, personas quidem non solum infames verum etiam de quibus inter Christianos haberi mentio non debebat. Cum quibus idem princeps hujus mundi vigiliis, potationibus, et indumentis, et omni modo Sarracenus se gerebat."—Epist. Gerold. apud Raynald. 1229, v.

[a] Mathew Paris, and the Arabian historians in Reinaud., p. 429. Addition to Michaud.

the kings of Christendom. I renounce at once all advantages which I may obtain from it." To Fakreddin, in more intimate converse, he acknowledged, according to another Eastern account, "My object in coming hither was not to deliver the Holy City, but to maintain my estimation among the Franks." He had before made large demands of commercial privileges, the exemption of tribute for his merchants in the ports of Alexandria and Rosetta. The terms actually obtained, at their lowest amount, belie this humiliating petition. The whole negotiation was a profound secret to all but Frederick and the immediate adherents to whom he condescended to communicate it.

At length Frederick summoned four Syrian Barons: he explained to them that the state of his affairs, the utter exhaustion of his finances, made it impossible for him to remain in the Holy Land. There were still stronger secret reasons for hastening the conclusion of the treaty. A fast-sailing vessel had been despatched to Joppa, which announced that the Papal army had broken into Apulia, and were laying waste the whole land, and threatened to wrest from Frederick his beloved kingdom of Sicily. The Sultan of Babylon, he told the Barons, had offered to surrender Jerusalem, and other advantageous conditions. He demanded their advice. The Barons replied that under such circumstances it might be well to accept the terms; but they insisted on the right of fortifying the walls of Jerusalem. The Emperor then summoned the Grand Masters of the Temple and the Hospital and the English Bishops of Winchester and Exeter; he made the same statement to them. They answered, that no such treaty could be made without the assent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his double capacity as head of the Syrian Church and Legate of the Pope. Frederick superciliously replied that he could dispense with the assent of the Patriarch. Gerold, before his adversary, became his most implacable foe.

Feb. 11.

Terms of treaty.

One week after the first interview the treaty was signed: there is much discrepancy in the articles between the Mohammedan and Christian ac-

Feb. 18.

counts; the Mohammedans restrict, the Christians enlarge the concessions. The terms transmitted by the Patriarch to the Pope, translated from the Arabic into the French, were these:—I. The entire surrender of Jerusalem to the Emperor and his Prefects. II. Except the site of the Temple, occupied by the Mosque of Omar, which remained absolutely in the power of the Saracens: they held the keys of the gates. III. The Saracens were to have free access as pilgrims to perform their devotions at Bethlehem. IV. Devout Christians were only permitted to enter and pray within the precincts of the Temple on certain conditions. V. All wrong committed by one Saracen upon another in Jerusalem was to be judged before a Mussulman tribunal. VI. The Emperor was to give no succour to any Frank or Saracen, who should be engaged in war against the Saracens, or suffer any violation of the truce. VII. The Emperor was to recall all who were engaged in any invasion of the territory of the Sultan of Egypt, and prohibit to the utmost of his power every violation of such territory. VIII. In case of such violation of the treaty, the Emperor was to espouse and defend the cause of the Sultan of Egypt. IX. Tripoli, Antioch, Karak, and their dependencies were not included in this treaty.[b]

The German pilgrims rejoiced without disguise at this easy accomplishment of their vows; they were eager to set out to offer their devotions in the Holy Sepulchre. Frederick himself determined to accomplish his own pilgrimage, and to assume in his capital the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Attended by the faithful Master of the Teutonic Knights, Herman of Salza, and accompanied by Schems-eddin, the Saracen Kadi of Naplous, he arrived on the eve of Sunday the 19th of March in Jerusalem: he took up his lodging in the neighbourhood of the Temple, now a Mohammedan mosque, under the guardianship of the Kadi; there were

Frederick in Jerusalem. March 17.

[b] These articles are obviously incomplete; they do not describe the extent of the concessions, which, according to other statements, included, with Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the whole district between Joppa and Jerusalem. There is nothing said, if anything was definitively agreed, as to the right of the Emperor to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem; nor of the condition that the Saracens were only to enter Jerusalem unarmed, and not to pass the night within the walls. The important stipulation of the surrender of all Christian prisoners without ransom is altogether omitted.

fears lest he should be attacked by some Mohammedan fanatic. But the Emperor had not arrived in Jerusalem before the Archbishop of Cæsarea appeared with instructions from the Patriarch of Jerusalem to declare him under excommunication, and to place the city of Jerusalem under the ban. Even the Sepulchre of the Lord was under interdict; the prayers of the pilgrims even in that holiest place were forbidden, or declared unholy. No Christian rite could be celebrated before the Christian Emperor, and that disgrace was inflicted in the face of all the Mohammedans.

Immediately on his arrival the Emperor visited the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The church was silent; not a priest appeared: during his stay no mass was celebrated within the city or in the suburbs. An English Dominican named Walter performed one solitary service on the morning of the Sunday. Frederick proceeded again in great pomp and in all his imperial apparel to the Church of the Sepulchre. No prelate, no priest of the Church of Jerusalem was there who ventured to utter a blessing. The Archbishops of Palermo and of Capua were present, but seem to have taken no part in the ceremony. The imperial crown was placed on the high altar; Frederick took it up and with his own hands placed it on his head. The Master of the Teutonic Order delivered an address in the name of the Emperor, which was read in German, in French, in Latin, and in Italian. It ran in this strain: "It is well known that at Aix-la-Chapelle I took the Cross of my own free will. Hitherto insuperable difficulties have impeded the fulfilment of my vow. I acquit the Pope for his hard judgment of me and for my excommunication: in no other way could he escape the blasphemy and evil report of men. I exculpate him further for his writing against me to Palestine in so hostile a spirit, for men had rumoured that I had levied my army not against the Holy Land, but to invade the Papal States. Had the Pope known my real design, he would have written not against me, but in my favour: did he know how many are acting here to the prejudice of Christianity, he would not pay so much respect to their complaints and representations. . . . I would willingly do all which shall

Coronation of Frederick.

expose those real enemies and false friends of Christ who delight in discord, and so put them to shame by the restoration of peace and unity. I will not now think of the high estate which is my lot on earth, but humble myself before God to whom I owe my elevation, and before him who is his Vicar upon earth."[o] The Emperor returned through the streets wearing the crown of Jerusalem. The same day he visited the site of the Temple, whereon stood the Mosque of Omar.

The zealous Mohammedans were in bitter displeasure with Frederick, as having obtained from their easy Sultan the possession of the Holy City; yet their religious pride watched all his actions, and construed every word and act into a contempt of the Christian faith, and his respect, if not more than respect, for Islam. The Emir Schems-eddin, so writes the Arabic historian, had issued rigid orders that nothing should be done which could offend the Emperor. The house where the Emperor slept was just below the minaret from which the Muezzin was wont to proclaim the hour of prayer. But in Jerusalem the Muezzin did more. He read certain verses of the Korân; on that night the text, "How is it possible that God had for his son Jesus the son of Mary?" The Kadi took alarm; he silenced altogether the officious Muezzin. The Emperor listened in vain for that sound which in the silent night is so solemn and impressive. He inquired the reason of this silence, which had continued for two days. The Kadi gave the real cause, the fear of offending the Christian Emperor. "You are wrong," said Frederick, "to neglect on my account your duty, your law, and your religion. By God, if you should visit me in my realm, you would find no such respectful deference." The Emperor had declared that one of the chief objects of his visit to the Holy Land was to behold the Mohammedans at prayer. He stood in wondering admiration before the Mosque of Omar; he surveyed the pulpit from which the Imaun

[o] If this is the genuine speech, quoted by Von Raumer from the unpublished Regesta in the Papal archives, it may show the malice of the Patriarch Gerold, who thus describes it:—"Ita coronatus resedit in cathedrâ Patriarchatus excusando malitiam suam et accusando ecclesiam Romanam, imponens ei quod injustè processerat contra eum; et notabilem eam fecerat invective et reprehensive de insatiabili et simoniali avaritia."

delivered his sermons. A Christian priest had found his way into the precincts with the book of the Gospels in his hand; the Emperor resented this as an insult to the religious worship of the Mohammedans, and threatened to punish it as a signal breach of the treaty. The Arabic historian puts into his mouth these words: "Here we are all the servants of the Sultan; it is he that has restored to us our Churches." So writes the graver historian.[d] There is a description of Frederick's demeanour in the Temple by an eye-witness, one of the ministering attendants, in which the same ill-suppressed aversion to the uncircumcised is mingled with the desire to claim an imperial proselyte. "The Emperor was red-haired and bald, with weak sight; as a slave he would not have sold for more than 200 drachms."

Frederick's language showed (so averred some Mohammedans) that he did not believe the Christian religion; he did not scruple to jest upon it. He read without anger, and demanded the explanation of the inscription in letters of gold, "Saladin, in a certain year, purified the Holy City from the presence of those who worship many Gods."[e] The windows of the Holy Chapel were closely barred to keep out the defilements of the birds. "You may shut out the birds," said Frederick, "how will ye keep out the swine?" At noon, at the hour of prayer, when all the faithful fall on their knees in adoration, the Mohammedans in attendance on Frederick did the same; among the rest the aged preceptor of Frederick, a Sicilian Mussulman who had instructed him in dialectics. Frederick, in this at least not going beyond the bounds of wise tolerance, betrayed neither surprise nor dissatisfaction.

After but two days the Emperor retired from the interdicted city; if he took no steps to restore the walls, some part of the blame must attach to his religious foes, who pursued him even into the Holy City with such inexorable hostility.

Unpopularity of the treaty.

Both the Emperor and the Sultan had wounded the pride, and offended the religious prejudices of the more zealous among their people. To some

[d] Makrizi, in Reinaud.

[e] The Mohammedans so define the worshippers of the Trinity.

the peaceful settlement of the war between Christian and Mussulman was of itself an abomination, a degenerate infringement of the good old usage, which arrayed them against each other as irreclaimable enemies; the valiant Christians were deprived of the privilege of obtaining remission of their sins by the pillage and massacre of the Islamites: the Islamites of winning Paradise by the slaughter of Christians. The Sultan of Egypt, so rude was the shock throughout the world of Islam, was obliged to send ambassadors to the Caliph of Bagdad and to the Princes on the Euphrates to explain his conduct. The surrender of Jerusalem was the great cause of affliction and shame. The Sultan in vain alleged that it was but the unwalled and defenceless city that he yielded up; there were bitter lamentations among all the Moslems, who were forced to depart from their homes; sad verses were written and sung in the streets. The Imauns of the Mosque of Omar went in melancholy procession to the Sultan to remonstrate. They attempted to overawe him by proclaiming an unusual hour of prayer. Kameel treated them with great indignity, and sent them back stripped of their silver lamps, and other ornaments of the Mosque. In Damascus was the most loud and bitter lamentation. The Sultan of Damascus was besieged in his capital by Malek el Ashraf. The territory, now basely yielded to the Christians, was part of his kingdom; he was the rightful Lord of Jerusalem. There an Imaun of great sanctity, the historian Ibn Dschusi himself, was summoned to preach to the people on this dire calamity. The honour of Islam was concerned; he mounted the pulpit: "So then the way to the Holy City is about to be closed to faithful pilgrims: you who love communion with God in that hallowed place can no longer prostrate yourself, or water the ground with your tears. Great God! if our eyes were fountains, could we shed tears enough? If our hearts were cloven could we be afflicted enough?" The whole assembly burst into a wild wail of sorrow and indignation.[f]

Frederick announced this treaty in Western Christen-

[f] Reinaud. Extrait des Auteurs Arabes.—Wilken, vi. p. 493.

dom in the most magnificent terms. His letter to the King of England bears date on the day of his entrance into Jerusalem. He ascribes his triumph to a miracle wrought by the Lord of Hosts, who seemed no longer to delight in the multitude of armed men. In the face of two great armies, that of the Sultan of Egypt and of Sultan Ashraf encamped near Gaza, and that of the Sultan (David) of Damascus at Naplous, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the district of Sharon, and Sidon, had been freely ceded to him: the Mohammedans were only by sufferance to enter the Holy City. The Sultan had bound himself to surrender all prisoners, whom he ought to have released by the treaty of Damietta, and all who had been taken since.[g] The seal of this letter bore a likeness of the Emperor, with a scroll: over his head "the Emperor of the Romans," on the right shoulder "the King of Jerusalem," on the left "the King of Sicily."

Far different was the reception of the treaty by the Pope, and by all who sided with, or might be expected to side with, the Pope. It was but a new manifestation of the perfidy, the contumacy, the ingratitude to the Church, the indifference of the Emperor to religion, if not of his apostasy. A letter arrived, and was actively promulgated through Western Christendom, from Gerold, Patriarch of Jerusalem, describing in the blackest colours every act of the Emperor. In the treaty the dignity, the interests of religion and of the Church, the dignity and interests of the Patriarch, had been, it might seem, studiously neglected; even in the territory conceded by the Sultan some of the lands belonging to the Knights Templars were comprehended, none of those claimed by the Patriarch. Gerold overlooked his own obstinate hostility to Frederick, while he dwelt so bitterly on that of Frederick to himself. The letter began with Frederick's occupation of Joppa; his avowed partiality to the interests of the Mohammedans, his neglect, or worse, of the Christians. At least five hundred Christians had fallen since his arrival, not ten Saracens. All excesses, all breaches of the truce were visited severely on the

Letter of the Patriarch.

[g] The letter in Matthew Paris.

Christians, connived at or disregarded in the Mohammedans. A Saracen who had been plundered was sent back in splendid apparel to the Sultan. All the Emperor's suspicious intercourse with the Saracens, his Mohammedan luxuries, his presents of splendid arms to be used by Infidels against true Believers, were recounted; the secresy of the treaty and its acceptance with the signature of the Sultan as its sole guarantee. The Master of the Teutonic Order had insidiously invited him (the Patriarch) to accompany the Emperor to Jerusalem. He had demanded first to see the treaty. There he found that the Sultan of Damascus, the true Lord of Jerusalem, was no party to the covenant; "there were no provisions in favour of himself or of the Church; how could he venture his holy person within the power of the treacherous Sultan and his unbelieving host?" The letter closed with a strong complaint that the Emperor had left the city without rebuilding the walls. But the Patriarch admitted that Frederick had consulted the Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Præceptor of the Temple, to advise and aid him in this work: their reply had been cold and dilatory; and Frederick departed from the city.[h]

Even before the arrival of Gerold's letters, the Pope, in a letter to the Archbishop of Milan and his suffragans, all liegemen of the Emperor, had denounced the treaty as a monstrous reconciliation of Christ and Belial; as the establishment of the worship of Mohammed in the Temple of God; and thus "the antagonist of the Cross, the enemy of the faith, the foe of all chastity, the condemned to hell, is lifted up for adoration, by a perverse judgment, to the intolerable contumely of the Saviour, the inexpiable disgrace of the Christian name, the contempt of all the martyrs who have laid down their lives to purify the Holy Land from the worldly pollutions of the Saracens."[i]

Letter of Gregory to Archbishop of Milan.

Albert of Austria, the most powerful enemy who might be tempted to revolt against Frederick in his German

[h] Epist. Gerold, Patriarchæ, apud Matth. Paris.
[i] A Imper. Mediol. June 13, 1229.

dominions, the greatest and most dangerous vassal of the Empire, the Pope addressed at greater length, and with a more distinct enumeration of four flagitious enormities with which he especially charged the Emperor. First, he had shamelessly presented the sword and other arms which he had received from the altar of St. Peter, blessed by the Pope himself, for the defence of the faith, and the chastisement of the wicked, to the Sultan of Babylon, the enemy of the faith, the adversary of Christ Jesus, the worshipper of Mohammed, the son of Perdition; he had promised not to bear arms against the Sultan, against whom as Emperor he was bound to wage implacable war. The second was a more execrable and more stupendous offence; in the Temple of God, where Christ made his offering, where he had sat on his cathedral throne in the midst of the doctors, the Emperor had cast Christ forth, and placed Mohammed, that son of perdition; he had commanded the law of God to keep silence, and permitted the free preaching of the Korân: to the Infidels he had left the keys of the Sanctuary, so that no Christian might enter without their sufferance. Thirdly, he had excluded the Eastern Christians of Antioch, Tripoli, and other strong places, from the benefit of the treaty, and so betrayed the Christian cause in the East to the enemy. Lastly, he had so bound himself by this wicked league, that if the Christian army should attempt to revenge the insult done to the Redeemer, to cleanse the Temple and the City of God from the defilements of the Pagans, the Emperor had pledged himself to take part with the foe. Albert of Austria is exhorted to disclaim all allegiance to one guilty of such capital treason against the majesty of God, to hold himself ready at the summons of the Church to take up arms against the Emperor.

June 18.

Letter to Albert of Austria.

The last acts of Frederick in Palestine are dwelt upon both by the Patriarch and the Pope; they are known almost entirely by these unfriendly representations. Frederick returned from Joppa to Ptolemaïs in no placable mood with his implacable enemies leagued against him in civil war.[k]

[k] "Præterea qualiter contra ipsum redeuntem, prædicti Patriarchæ, Magistri domuum hospitalis et templi se Imperatorem, apud Acon, postmodum

The Patriarch had attempted to raise an independent force at his own command: if the pilgrims should retire from the Holy Land he would need a bodyguard for his holy person. He proposed, out of some large sums of money left for the benefit of the sacred cause by Philip-Augustus of France, to enrol a band of knights, a new Order, for this end. Frederick declared that no one should levy or command soldiers within his realm without his will and consent. With the inhabitants of Ptolemaïs Frederick had obtained, either by his affable demeanour or by his treaty, great popularity. He summoned a great assembly of all Christian people on the broad sands without the city. There he arose and arraigned the Patriarch and the Master of the Templars as having obstinately thwarted all his designs for the advancement of the Christian cause, and having pursued him with their blind and obstinate hostility. He summoned all the pilgrims, having now fulfilled their vows, to depart from the Holy Land, and commanded his Lieutenant, Thomas de Acerra, to compel obedience to these orders. He was deaf to all remonstrance; on his return to the city, he seized all the gates, manned them with his crossbow-men, and while he permitted all the Knights Templars to leave the city, he would admit none. He took possession of the churches, and occupied them with his archers. The Patriarch assembled all his adherents, and all the Templars still within the city, and again thundered out his excommunication. Frederick kept him almost as a prisoner in his palace; his partisans were exposed to every insult and attack, even those who were carrying provisions to the palace. Two bold Franciscans, who on Palm Sunday denounced him in the Church, were dragged from the pulpit, and scourged through the streets. But these violences availed not against the obstinate endurance of the Churchmen. After some vain attempts at reconciliation, the Patriarch placed the city of Ptolemaïs under

Palm Sunday. April 3.

gesserint, utpote qui contra ipsum, intestina bella moverint in civitate prædictâ, his qui interfuerunt luce clarius extitit manifestum."—Rich. San Germ. It is remarkable how many privileges and grants he made to the Teutonic Order: it is manifest that his object was to raise up a loyal counterpoise to the Templars and Hospitallers.—Boehmer, Regesta, sub ann.

interdict. These are not all the charges against Frederick; it was made a crime that he destroyed some of his ships, probably unserviceable: his arms and engines of war he is said to have sent to the Sultan of Egypt.

On the day of St. Peter and St. Paul the Emperor set sail for Europe: his presence was imperiously required. In every part of his dominions the Pope, with the ambitious activity of a temporal sovereign, and with all the tremendous arms wielded by the spiritual power, was waging a war either in open arms, or in secret intrigues with his unruly and disaffected vassals. The ostensible cause of the war was the aggression of Frederick's vicegerent in Apulia, Reginald Duke of Spoleto. Frederick had left Reginald to subdue the revolt of the powerful family of Polito. These rebels had taken refuge in the Papal territory; they were pursued by Reginald. But once beyond the Papal frontier the Duke of Spoleto extended his ravages, it might seem reviving certain claims of his own on the Dukedom of Spoleto. Frederick afterwards disclaimed these acts of his lieutenant, and declared that he had punished him for the infringement of his orders.[m] But the occasion was too welcome not to be seized by the Pope. He levied at once large forces, placed them under the command of Frederick's most deadly enemies, his father-in-law, John de Brienne, the ejected King of Jerusalem, and the Cardinal John Colonna, with the king's revolted subjects, the Counts of Celano and of Aquila; the martial Legate Pelagius, who had commanded the army of Damietta, directed the whole force. A report of Frederick's death in Palestine (a fraud of which he complains with the bitterest indignation) was industriously disseminated. John de Brienne even ventured to assert that there was no Emperor but himself. The Papal armies at first met with great success; many cities from fear, from disaffection to Frederick, from despair of relief, opened their gates. The soldiers of the Church committed devastations almost unprecedented even in these rude wars. But

May 3.

War in Apulia.

[m] The most particular account of these wars is in Rich. de San Germano, apud Muratori, t. vii.

Gregory was not content with this limited war; he strove to arm all Christendom against the contumacious Emperor who defied the Church. From the remotest parts, from Wales, Ireland, England large contributions were demanded, and in many cases extorted, for this holy war. Just at this juncture England contributed in a peculiar manner, even beyond her customary tribute, to the Papal treasury: the whole of such revenue was devoted to this end.

A dispute was pending in the Court of Rome concerning the See of Canterbury. On the death of Archbishop Stephen, the monks of Canterbury elected Walter of Hevesham to the primacy. The King refused his assent, and the objections urged were sufficiently strange, whether well-founded or but fictitious, against a man chosen as the successor of Becket. The father of Walter, it was said, had been hanged for robbery, and Walter himself, during the interdict, had embraced the party opposed to King John. The suffragan bishops (they always resented their exclusion from the election) accused Walter of having debauched a nun, by whom he had several children. Appeal was made to Rome; the Pope delayed his sentence for further inquiry. The ambassadors of the King, the Bishops of Chester and Rochester, and John of Newton in vain laboured to obtain the Papal decision. One only argument would weigh with the Pope and the Cardinals. At length they engaged to pay for this tardy justice the tenth of all moveable property in the realm of England and Ireland in order to aid the Pope in his war against the Emperor. Even then the alleged immoralities were put out of sight; the elected Primate of England was examined by three Cardinals on certain minute points of theology, and condemned as unworthy of so noble a see, "which ought to be filled by a man noble, wise, and modest."[n] Richard, Bishop of Lincoln, was proposed in the name of the King and the suf-

Election to Archbishopric of Canterbury. July, 1228.

[n] He was asked whether our Lord descended into hell, in the flesh or not in the flesh; on the presence of Christ in the sacrament; how Rachel, being already dead, could weep for her children; on the power of an excommunication, unrightly pronounced; on a case of marriage, where one of the parties had died in infidelity. To all these his answers were wrong.

fragan bishops, and received his appointment by a Papal Bull. In France, besides the exertions of the Legate, the Archbishops of Sens and of Lyons were commanded by the Pope himself to publish the grave offences of Frederick against the Holy See, and to preach the Crusade against him. In Germany, Albert of Austria had been urged to revolt; in the North and in Denmark the Legate, the Cardinal Otho, preached and promulgated the same Crusade.[o] He laid Liège under an interdict, and King Henry raised an army to besiege the Cardinal in Strasburg. The Pope praised, as inspired by the Holy Ghost, the chivalrous determination of the Prince of Portugal, to take up arms in defence of the Church of Christ. The Lombards, on the other hand, were sternly rebuked for their tardiness in sending aid against the common enemy, the Pope gave them a significant hint that the deserters of the cause of the Church might be deserted in their turn in their hour of need.

May 15 and July 13, 1229. Return of Frederick.

The rapid return of the Emperor disconcerted all these hostile measures. With two well-armed barks he landed at Astore, near Brundusium; many of the brave German pilgrims followed after and rapidly grew to a formidable force. His first act was to send ambassadors to the Pope, the Archbishop of Bari, the Bishop of Reggio, and Herman de Salza, the master of the Teutonic order. The overtures were rejected with scorn. An excommunication even more strong and offensive had been issued by the Pope at Perugia.[p] The first clause denounced all the heretics with names odious to all zealous believers. The Cathari, the Publicans, the Poor Men of Lyons, the Arnaldists, and under the same terrific anathema as no less an enemy of the Church, followed the Emperor Frederick; his contumacious disregard of the excommunication pronounced by the Cardinal of Albano was thus placed on the same footing with the wildest opinions and those most hostile to the Church. After the recital of his offences, the release of all his subjects from their allegiance, came the condemnation of his adhe-

[o] Raynald. in notâ.

[p] This bull must have been issued in June, not in August. See Boehmer, p. 335. Raynaldus, sub ann.

rents, Reginald of Spoleto and his brother Bertoldo. With the other enemies of the Church were mingled up the Count de Foix, and the Viscount of Beziers; the only important names which now represented the odious heresy of Southern France. Some lesser offenders were included under the comprehensive ban. These were all, if not leagued together under the same proscription, alike denounced as enemies of God and of the Church. The conquering army of the Pope was on all sides arrested, repelled, defeated; the rebellious barons and cities returned to their allegiance; Frederick marched to the relief of Capua; the strength of the Papal force broke up in confusion. Frederick moved to Naples where he was received in triumph. In Capua he had organized the Saracens whom he had removed from Sicily, where they had been a wild mountain people, untameably and utterly lawless, to Nocera, where he had settled them, foreseeing probably their future use as now inhabitants of walled cities and cultivators of the soil. This was a terrible force to the rebellious churchmen who had espoused the Papal cause. From San Germano Frederick sent forth his counter appeal to the Sovereigns of Europe, representing the violence, the injustice, the implacable resentment of the Pope. The appeal could not but have some effect.

Christendom, even among the most devout adherents of the Papal supremacy, refused to lend itself to the fiery passions of the aged Pope. The Pope was yet too awful to be openly condemned, but the general reluctance to embrace his cause was the strongest condemnation. Men throughout the Christian world could not but doubt by which party the real interests of the Eastern Christians had been most betrayed and injured. The fierce enthusiasm which would not receive advantages unless won from the unbeliever at the point of the sword had died away: men looked to the effect of the treaty, they compared it with the results of all the Crusades since that of Godfrey of Bouillon. Jerusalem, the Holy Sepulchre, were in the power of the Christians: devout pilgrims might perform unmolested their pious vows; multitudes of Christians had taken up their abode

Christendom against the Pope.

in seeming security in the city of Sion. But if, thus trammelled, opposed, pursued by the remorseless excommunication into the Holy Sepulchre itself, Frederick by the awe of his imperial name, by his personal greatness, had obtained such a treaty; what terms might he not have dictated, if supported by the Pope, the Patriarch, and Knights Templars.[q] Treaties with the Mohammedan powers were nothing new; they had been lately made by Philip Augustus, and by the fierce Richard Cœur de Lion. The Christians had never disdained the policy of taking advantage of the feuds among the Mohammedan sovereigns, of allying themselves with the Sultan of Egypt or the Sultan of Damascus. Even the Pope himself had not disdained all peaceful intercourse with the Unbelievers. Frederick positively asserted that he had surprised and had in his possession letters addressed by the Pope to Sultan Kameel, urging him to break off his negotiations with the Emperor. Gregory afterwards denied the truth of this charge; but it was publicly averred, and proof offered, in the face of Christendom.[r] Frederick had appealed to witnesses of all his acts, and they, at all events the English Bishops of Winchester and Exeter, the Master of the Hospitallers, the Master of the Teutonic Order, had given no countenance to the envious and rancorous charges of the Patriarch.

There was a deeper cause of dissatisfaction throughout that Hierarchy, to which the Pope had always looked for the most zealous and self-sacrificing aid. The clergy felt the strongest repugnance to the levy of a tenth demanded by the Pope throughout Christendom, to maintain wars, if not unjust, unnecessary against the Emperor. No doubt

[q] It has been observed that the three contemporary historians, Matthew Paris, the Abbot Urspergensis, and Richard of San Germano, are all against the Pope. "Verisimile enim videtur, quod si tunc Imperator cum gratiâ ac pace Romanæ Ecclesiæ transisset, longe melius et efficacius prosperntum fuisset negotium Terræ Sanctæ."—Richard de San Germano adds, that if the Sultan had not known that Frederick was excommunicated by the Pope, and hated by the Patriarch, he would have granted much better terms. Compare Muratori, Annal. d'Italia, sub ann.; and in Wilken the extract from Theuerdank:—

"Wären dem Kaiser die gestanden,
Die ihm sin Ehre wanden (entwandten)
Das Grab und alle diese Land,
Die stunden gar in seiner Hand:
Nazareth und Bethlem,
Der Jordan und Jerusalem,
Dazu manig heilig Stat,
Da Gott mit seinem Füssen trat,
Syria und Juda," &c.

—Wilken, vi. p. 509.

[r] Epist. Petr. de Vineâ.

the lavish and partial favour with which he treated the Preaching and Begging Friars had already awakened jealousy. Gregory had sagaciously discerned the strength which their influence in the lowest depths of society would gain for the Papal cause. He had solemnly canonised Francis of Assisi[s]—one of his most confidential counsellors was the Dominican Gualo. So active had the Friars been in stirring up revolt in the kingdom of Naples, that the first act of Reginald of Spoleto had been their expulsion from the realm. Oct. 4, 1228.

Christendom had eagerly rushed into a Crusade against the unbelievers; it had not ventured to disapprove a Crusade against the heretics of Languedoc; but a Crusade (for under that name Gregory IX. levied this war) against the Emperor, and that Emperor the restorer of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, was encountered with sullen repugnance or frank opposition. It was observed as a strange sight that when Frederick's troops advanced against those of the Pope, they still wore the red crosses which they had worn in Palestine. The banner of the Cross, under which Mohammedans fought for Frederick, met the banner with the keys of St. Peter.[t]

The disapprobation of silent disobedience, at best of sluggish and tardy sympathy if not of rude disavowal and condemnation, could not escape the all-watchful ear of Rome. Gregory had no resource but in his own dauntless and unbroken mind, and in the conviction of his power. The German Princes had refused to dethrone King Henry, some of the greatest influence, Leopold Duke of Austria, the Duke of Moravia, the Archbishops of Saltzburg and of Aquileia, the Bishop of Ratisbon, were in Italy endeavouring to mediate a peace. The Lombards did not move; even if the Guelfs had been so disposed, they were everywhere controlled by a Ghibelline opposition; one incident alone was of more encouraging character. Gregory was still at Perugia an exile from rebellious Rome. But a terrific flood had desolated the city. The religious fears

[s] Gualo was his emissary, if not his Legate, in Lombardy. He was active in framing the peace of San Germano.—Epist. Gregor., Oct. 9, 1226.

[t] "Imperator cum crucesignatis contra clavigeros hostes properat."—Rich. de San Germano, p. 1013.

of the populace beheld the avenging hand of God for their disobedience to their spiritual father; the Pope returned to Rome in triumph.[u]

Peace was necessary to both parties, negotiations were
Nov. 1229. speedily begun. The Pope was suddenly seized
May, 1230. with a sacred horror of the shedding of human blood. A treaty was framed at San Germano which maintained unabased the majesty of the Pope.[x] In truth, by the absolution of the Emperor with but a general declaration of submission to the Church, without satisfaction for the special crime for which he had undergone excommunication, the Pope virtually at least
Treaty of San Germano. recognised the injustice of his own censures Of
June 14, 1230. the affairs of the Holy Land, of the conduct of the Emperor, of the treaty with the Sultan, denounced as impious, there was a profound and cautious silence. In other respects the terms might seem humiliating to the Emperor; he granted a complete amnesty to all his rebellious subjects, the Archbishop of Tarentum and all the bishops and churchmen who had fled the realm; even the reinstatement of the insurgent Counts of Celano and Aversa in their lands and domains in Germany, in Italy, in Sicily; he consented to restore all the places he occupied in the Papal dominions, and all the estates which he had seized belonging to churches, monasteries, the Templars, the Knights of the Hospital, and generally of all who had adhered to the Church. He renounced the right of judging the ecclesiastics of his realm by the civil tribunals, excepting in matters concerning royal fiefs; he gave up the right of levying taxes on ecclesiastical property, as well that of the clergy as of monasteries. It is said, but it appears not in the treaty, that he promised to defray the enormous charges of the war, variously stated at 120,000 crowns, and 120,000 ounces of gold; but in those times promises to pay such debts by no means ensured their payment. Frederick never fulfilled this covenant. If to obtain absolution from the Papal censures

[u] Not only was there a great destruction of property, of corn, wine, cattle, and of human life, but a great quantity of enormous serpents were cast on shore, which rotted, and bred a pestilence. This is a story more than once repeated in the later annals of Rome—on what founded?—Gregor. Vit.

[x] Albanensi Episcopo, apud Raynald. 1229.

Frederick willingly yielded to these terms, it shows either that his firm mind was not proof against the awe of the spiritual power which enthralled the rest of Europe, or that he had the wisdom to see that the time was not come to struggle with success against such tyranny. He might indeed hope that, ere long, to the stern old man who now wielded the keys of St. Peter with the vigour of Hildebrand or Innocent III. might succeed some feebler or milder Pontiff. Already was Gregory approaching to or more than ninety years old.[y] He was himself in the strength and prime of manhood, nor could he expect that this same aged Pontiff would rally again for a contest, more long, more obstinate, and though not terminated in his lifetime, more fatal to the Emperor and to the house of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had been released from the ban of excommunication at Ceperano by the Cardinal John of St. Sabina; he visited the Pope at Anagni. They met, Frederick with dignified submission, the Pope with the calm majesty of age and position, held a conference of many hours, appeared together at a splendid banquet, and interchanged the kiss of peace; the antagonists whose mortal quarrel threatened a long convulsion throughout Christendom proclaimed to the world their mutual amity.[z] Aug. 28. Sept. 1, 1830.

Nearly nine years elapsed before these two antagonists, the Pope Gregory IX. and the Emperor Frederick II. resumed their immitigable warfare,— Sept. 1, 1230, to 1239, Palm Sunday.

[y] I confess that this extreme old age of Gregory IX. does not seem to me quite clearly made out. At all events, after every deduction, he was of an extraordinary age to display such activity and firmness.

[z] Frederick describes the interview:— "Deinde ut post absolutionem ex præsentia corporum mentium serenitas sequeretur, primo Septembris apostolicam sedem adivimus, et sanctissimum patrem dominum Gregorium, Dei gratiâ summum Pontificem vidimus reverenter. Qui affectione paternâ nos recipiens, et pace cordium sacris osculis federatâ, tam benevole, tam benigne propositum nobis suæ intentionis aperuit de ipsis quæ precesserant nil omittens, et singula prosequens evidentis judicio rationis, quod etsi nos precedens causa commoverit, vel rancorem potuerit aliquem attulisse, sic benevolentia, quam persensimus in eodem, omnem motum lenivit animi, et nostram amoto rancore serenavit adeo voluntatem, ut non velimus ulterius præterita memorari quæ necessitas intulit, ut virtus ex necessitate prodens operaretur gratiam ampliorem." —Monument. Germ. iv. 275. There is something very striking in this. The generous awe and reverence of Frederick for the holy old man, considering his deep injuries (I envy not those who can see nothing but specious hypocrisy in Frederick), and the Christian amenity of the Pope, considering that Frederick, a short time before, had been called a godless heretic, almost a Mohammedan. Their mutual enmity is lost in mutual respect.

years of but dubious peace, of open amity, yet secret mistrust, in which each called upon the other for aid against his enemies; the Pope on Frederick against the unruly Romans, Frederick on the Pope against the rebellious Lombards, and his rebellious son; but where each suspected a secret understanding with those enemies. It is remarkable that both Frederick and the Pope betook themselves in this interval of suspended war to legislation. Frederick to the promulgation of a new jurisprudence for his kingdom of Naples and Sicily, Gregory of a complete and authoritative code of the Decretals which formed the statute law by which the Papacy and the sacerdotal order ruled the world, and administered the internal government of the Church. During the commencement of this period Frederick left the administration of affairs in Germany, though he still exercised an imperial control, to his son Henry. The rebellion of Henry alone seemed to compel him to cross the Alps and resume the sway. His legislation aspired to regulate the Empire; but in Germany from the limits imposed on his power, it was not a complete and perfect code, it was a succession of remedial laws. His earliest and most characteristic work of legislation was content to advance the peace, prosperity, and happiness of his own Southern realm.

June 11, 1234.

A.D. 1235.

The constitution of his beloved kingdom was thus the first care of Frederick. As a legislator he commands almost unmingled admiration; and the aim and temper of his legislation whether emanating from himself, or adopted from the counsel of others, may justly influence the general estimate of a character so variously represented by the passions of his own age, passions which have continued to inflame, and even yet have not died away from the heart of man.[a] The object of Frederick's jurisprudence was the mitigation, as far as possible the suppression, of feudal violence and oppression; the assertion of equal rights, equal

[a] Even in our own day M. Höfler, for instance, seems to revive all the rancour of the days of Innocent IV. Even Boehmer is not above this fatal influence. This part of my work was finished before the publication of the "Regesta Imperii," to which, nevertheless, I am bound to acknowledge much obligation.

justice, equal burthens; the toleration of different religions; the promotion of commerce by wise, almost premature regulations; the advancement of intellectual culture among his subjects by the establishment of universities liberally endowed, and by the encouragement of all the useful and refined arts. It is difficult to suppose a wise, equal and humane legislator, a blind, a ruthless tyrant; or to reconcile the careful and sagacious provision for the rights and well-being of all ranks of his subjects with the reckless violation of those rights, and with heavy and systematic oppression; more especially if that jurisprudence is original and beyond his age. The legislator may himself be in some respects below the lofty aim of his laws; he may have been driven to harsh measures to bring into order the rebellious magnates of the realm, whom his absence in Asia, the invasion and the intrigues of the Papal party, cast loose from their allegiance; the abrogation of their tyrannical privileges may have left a deep and brooding discontent, ready to break out into revolt and constantly enforcing still more rigorous enactments. The severe guardian of the morals of his subjects may have claimed to himself in some respects a royal, an Asiatic indulgence; he may have been compelled by inevitable wars to lay onerous burthens on the people, he may have been compelled to restrict or suspend the rights of particular subjects, or classes of subjects, by such determined hostility as that of the clergy to himself and to all his house; but on the whole the laws and institutions of the kingdom of Naples are an unexceptionable and imperishable testimony at least to his lofty designs for the good of mankind, which history cannot decline; or rather receives with greater respect and trust than can be claimed by any cotemporary view of the acts or of the character of Frederick II. It is in this light only as illustrating the life of the great antagonist of the Church that they belong to Christian history, beyond their special bearing on religious questions, and the rights and condition of the clergy.[b]

[b] The constitutions of the Emperor Frederick may be read in Canciani, vol. i. sub fine. I am much indebted for a brief, it appears to me very sensible and accurate comment, in the Considerazioni sopra la Storia di Sicilia,

The groundwork of Frederick's legislation was the stern supremacy of the law; the submission of all, even the nobles, who exercised the feudal privilege of separate jurisdictions, to a certain extent of the clergy, to the king's sole and exclusive justice. This was the great revolution through which every feudal kingdom must inevitably pass sooner or later.[c] The crown must become the supreme fountain of justice and law. The first, and most difficult, but necessary step was the uniformity of that law. There was the most extraordinary variety of laws and usages throughout the realm, Roman, Greek, Gothic, Lombard, Norman, Imperial-German institutes; old municipal and recent seignorial rights.[d] The Jews had their special privileges, the Saracens their own customs and forms of procedure. The majestic law had to overawe to one system of obedience, with due maintenance of their proper rights, the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, and the peasants, even the Jews and the Mohammedans. Frederick wisely determined not to aspire so much to be the founder of an absolutely new jurisprudence, as to select, confirm, and harmonise the old institutions.[e]

Laws relating to religion.

The religious ordinances of the Sicilian constitution demand our first examination. Frederick maintained the immunities of the worshippers of other religions, of the Jews and the Arabians, with such impartial equity, as to incur for this and other causes the name of Jew and Saracen. But the most faithful son of the Church could not condemn the heretic with more authoritative severity, or visit his offence with more remorseless punishment.[f] Heresy was described as a crime against the offender himself, against his neighbour

by the Canonico Gregorio (Palermo, 1805), and to my friend M. von Raumer's earliest and best work, Geschichte der Hohenstaufen.

[c] King Roger (see the Canonico Gregorio, t. iii.) had already vindicated a certain supremacy for the King's Justiciary. King Roger's legislation is strikingly analogous to, Gregorio thinks borrowed from that of his remote kinsman William, our Norman Conqueror. In France this was among the great steps first decisively taken by St. Louis.

[d] Canciani, Preface.

[e] The code was published at Amalfi, Sept. 1231; Rich. San Germ. sub ann. 1231; in Sicily by Richard de Montenegro, High Justiciary, during the same year. Append. ad Malater. p. 251. Gregorio, iii. 14.

[f] Compare the edicts issued at Ravenna, Feb. 22, 1232, and March, against the Lombard heretics. They might have satisfied S. Dominic or Simon de Montfort. Re-enacted at Cremona, 1238; at Padua, 1239. — Monument. Germ. iv. 287, 288. Also letter of June 15, ex Regest. Greg. IX. In Höfler, p. 344.

and against God, a more heinous crime than high treason itself. The obstinate heretic was condemned to be burned, his whole property confiscated, his children were incapable of holding office or of bearing testimony. If such child should merit mercy by the denunciation of another heretic, or of a concealer of heretics, the Emperor might restore him to his rank. Schismatics were declared outlaws, incapable of inheriting, liable to forfeiture of their goods. No one might petition in favour of a heretic; yet the repentant heretic might receive pardon; his punishment, after due investigation of the case by the ecclesiastical power, was to be adjudged by the secular authority. But these laws were directed against a particular class of men, dangerous it was thought no less to the civil than to the religious power; actual rebels against the Church, rebels likewise against the Emperor, still the conservator of pure orthodoxy, and betraying at least rebellious inclinations, if not designs hostile towards all power. They were neither enacted nor put in force against the Greek Christians, who were still in considerable numbers in the kingdom of Sicily, had their own priests, and celebrated undisturbed their own rites. They were those heretics which swarmed under these various denominations, Cathari or Paterins, from rebellious and republican Lombardy, the hated and suspected source of all these opinions. In all the states of the Pope, in Rome itself, not merely were there hidden descendants of the Arnaldists, but all the wild sects which defied the most cruel persecutions in the North of Italy, spread their doctrines even within the shadow of the towns of St. Peter. Naples and Aversa were full of them,[s] and derived them from rebellious Lombardy; and Frederick, whose notions of the imperial power were as absolute as Gregory's of the Papal, not only would not incur by their protection such suspicions as would have inevitably risen of harbouring or favouring heretics, he scrupled not to assist in the exter-

[s] "Adeo quod ab Italiæ finibus, præsertim a partibus Longobardiæ in quibus pro certo perpendimus ipsorum nequitiam amplius abundare, jam usque ad regnum nostrum suæ perfidiæ rivulos derivarunt."—l. i. tit. i. "Quod dolentes referimus, in regno nostro Siciliæ Neapolin, et Aversam, partesque vicinas dicitur infecisse."—Frederic. Epist. apud Epist. Gregor. iv. 131.

mination of these insolent insurrectionists against lawful authority[h].

The Constitution of Frederick endeavoured to reduce the clergy into obedient and loyal subjects at once by the vigorous assertion of the supreme and impartial law, and by securing and extending their acknowledged immunities. The clergy were amenable to the general law of the realm as concerned fiefs, could be impleaded in the ordinary courts concerning occupancy of land, inheritances, and debts: they had jurisdiction over their own body, with the right of inflicting canonical punishments: but besides this they were amenable to the secular laws, especially for treason, or all crimes relating to the person of the King.[i] They were not exempt from general taxation; they were bound to discharge all feudal obligations for their fiefs; on the other hand, the crown abandoned its claim to the revenues of vacant bishoprics and benefices.[k] Three unexceptionable persons belonging to the Church were appointed receivers on behalf of the successor. On the election of bishops the law of Innocent III. was recognised; the chapter communicated the vacancy to the Crown, and proceeded to elect a fit successor; that successor could not be inaugurated without the consent of the King, nor consecrated without that of the Pope. Tithes were secured to the Church from all lands, even from the royal domains;[m] the Crown only enforced the expenditure of the appointed third on the sacred edifices, the churches and chapels. All special courts of the higher ecclesiastics as of the barons were abrogated; the Crown would be the sole fountain of justice: but the holders of the great spiritual fiefs sat with the great Barons under the presidency of the high Chancellor. Excepting in cases of marriage, no separate jurisdiction of the clergy was recognised over the laity.[n] Appeals to Rome were allowed,

[h] Gregor. Vit. Richard de San. Germ. See also the Edict of the Senator and people of Rome.—Apud Raynald. 1231. Compare (afterwards) Frederick's letter commanding the heretics throughout Lombardy to be committed to the flames.

[i] i. 42. A law of King William.

[k] iii. 28. Serfs and villains were not to be ordained, iii. 1, 3.

[m] i. 7.

[n] Frederick asserted and exercised the right of declaring the children of the clergy, who by the canon law were spurious, legitimate, with full title to a share in all the inheritances of all the goods of their parents, unless they were fiefs; and

but only on matters purely ecclesiastical; and these during wars with the Pope were absolutely forbidden. The great magnates of the realm received likewise substantial benefits in lieu of the privileges wrested from them, which were perilous to the public peace.[o] All their separate jurisdictions of noble or prelate were abolished; the King's justiciary was alone and supreme. But their fiefs were made hereditary, and in the female line and to collaterals in the third degree.[p]

Cities.

The cities were emancipated from all the jurisdictions of nobles or of ecclesiastics; but the municipal authorities were not absolutely left to their free election. The Sicilian King dreaded the fatal example of the Lombard Republics: all the superior governors were nominated by the Crown; the cities only retained in their own hands the inferior appointments, for the regulation of their markets and havens.[q] The law overlooked not the interests of the free peasants, who constituted the chief cultivators of the soil; or that of the serfs attached to the soil. Absolute slavery was by no means common in Sicily; the serfs could acquire and hold property. The free peasants were numerous; the measures of Frederick tended to raise the serfs to the same condition. He absolutely emancipated all those on the royal domain. The establishment of his courts enabled all classes to obtain justice at an easy and cheap rate against their lords; the extraordinary aids to be demanded by the lord were limited by law, that of the lay feudal superior, to aids on the marriage of a daughter or sister, the arming the son when summoned to the service of the King, and his ransom in captivity; that of the higher ecclesiastics and monasteries, to the summons to the King's service, and receiving the King at free quarters; journeys to Church-Councils summoned by the Pope, and Consecrations. Frederick was so desirous to promote the cultivation of the soil, that he exempted new settlers in Sicily from taxes for ten years; only the Jews, who

Peasants.

capablity of attaining to all civil offices and honours. For this privilege they paid an annual tax of five per cent. to the royal exchequer. This implied the marriage of the clergy to a great extent. —Pet. de Vin. vi. 16. Constitut. iii. 25.

[o] i. 46.

[p] iii. 23, 24.

[q] i. 47.

took refuge from Africa were obliged to pay such taxes, and compelled to become cultivators of the land.

Parliaments.

But of all institutions, the most advanced was the system of representative government, for the first time regularly framed by the laws of the realm. Besides the ancient Parliaments, at which the magnates of the realm, the great ecclesiastical and secular vassals of the Crown assembled when summoned by the King's writs, two annual sessions took place, on the 1st of March and the 1st of August, of a Parliament constituted from the different orders of the realm.[r] All the Barons and Prelates appeared in person; each of the larger cities sent four representatives, each smaller city two, each town or other place one; to these were joined all the great and lesser Bailiffs of the Crown. The summons to the Barons and Prelates was directly from the King, that of the cities and towns from the judge of the province. They were to choose men of probity, good repute, and impartiality. A Commissioner from the Crown opened the Parliament, and conducted its proceedings, which lasted from eight to ten days. Every clerk or layman might arraign the conduct of any public officer, or offer his advice for the good of his town or district. The determinations which the royal Commissioner, with the advice of the most distinguished spiritual and temporal persons, approved, were delivered signed and sealed by him directly to the King, excepting in unimportant matters, which might be regulated by an order from the Justiciary of the Province.

The criminal law of Frederick's constitution was, with some remarkable exceptions, mild beyond precedent; and also administered with a solemnity, impartiality, and regularity, elsewhere unknown. The Chief Justiciary of the realm, with four other judges, formed the great Court of Criminal Law; and the Crown asserted itself to be the exclusive administrator of criminal justice.[s] Besides its implacable abhorrence of heresy, it was severe and inex-

[r] One of the cities appointed for the meeting of Parliament in Apulia was Lentini; in Sicily, Piazza. Compare Gregorio, iii. p. 82.

[s] Gregorio, l. iii. c. iv. "Nobis aliquando, quibus solum ordinationem justitiariorum ubicunque fuerimus, reservamus."—l. i. t. 95. This was part of the "merum imperium" of the sovereign. —i. t. 49.

orable against all disturbers of the peace of the realm, and those who endangered the public security. Private war,[t] and the execution of the law by private hands, was rigidly forbidden. Justice must be sought only in the King's courts. The punishment for all infringement of this statute was decapitation and forfeiture of goods. Arms were not to be borne except by the King's officers, employed in the court or on the royal affairs,[u] or by knights, knights' sons, and burghers, riding abroad from their own homes. Whoever drew his sword on another paid double the fine imposed for bearing it; whoever wounded another lost his hand; whoever killed a man, if a knight, was beheaded, if of lower rank, hanged. If the homicide could not be found the district paid a heavy fine, yet in proportion to the wehrgeld of the slain man; but Christians paid twice as much as Jews or Saracens, as, no doubt, bound more specially to know and maintain the law. The laws for the preservation of female chastity were singular and severe. Even rape upon a common prostitute was punished by beheading, if the charge was brought within a certain time:[x] whoever did not aid a woman suffering violence was heavily fined. But in these cases a false accusation was visited with the same punishment. Mothers who betrayed their daughters to whoredom had their noses cut off;[y] men who connived at the adultery of their wives were scourged. A man caught in adultery might be slain by the husband; if not instantly slain, he paid a heavy fine. The trials by battle and ordeal were abolished as vain and superstitious: the former allowed only in cases of murder, poisoning, or high treason, where there was strong suspicion but not full proof. It was designed to work on the terror of the criminal; but if the accuser was worsted, he was condemned in case of high treason to the utmost penalty; in other cases to proportionate punishment. Torture was only used in cases of heavy suspicion against persons of notoriously evil repute.[z]

[t] i. 8. [u] i. 9. [x] i. 20.
[y] iii. 48, 50.
[z] Frederick's legislation was not content with abolishing these barbarous forms of testimony, almost the only available testimony in rude unlettered times. He laid down rules on written evidence; documents must be on parch-

These are but instances of the spirit in which Frederick framed his legislation, which aimed rather to advance, enrich, enlighten his subjects than to repress their free development by busy and perpetual interference. His regulations concerning commerce were almost prophetically wise; he laid down the great maxim that commercial exchange benefited both parties; he permitted the export of corn as the best means of fostering its cultivation. He entered into liberal treaties with Venice, with Asia, Genoa, and the Greek Empire, and even with some of the Saracen powers in Africa. By common consent, both parties condemned the plundering of wrecks, and pledged themselves to mutual aid and friendly reception into their harbours. The King himself was a great merchant; the royal vessels traded to Syria, Egypt, and other parts of the East. He had even factors who traded to India.[a] He encouraged internal commerce by the establishment of great fairs and markets;[b] manufactures of various kinds began to prosper.

But that which—if the constitution of Frederick had continued to flourish, if the institutions had worked out in peace their natural consequences, if the house of Hohenstaufen had maintained their power, splendour and tendencies to social and intellectual advancement, if they had not been dispossessed by the dynasty of Charles of Anjou, and the whole land thrown back by many centuries—might have enabled the Southern kingdom to take the lead, and anticipate the splendid period of Italian learning, philosophy, and art, was the universities; the establishments for education; the encouragements for all learned and refined studies, imagined by this accomplished King. Even the revival of Greek letters might not have awaited the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks

ment, not on perishable paper; he prohibited a certain kind of obscure and intricate writing, in use at Naples, Amalfi, and Sorento; and ordered the notaries to write all deeds legibly and clearly. The Emperor himself laid down regulations to test the authenticity of a certain document.—Gregorio, iii. p. 61.

[a] "Fredericus II. erat omnibus Soldanis Orientis particeps in mercimoniis et amicissimus, ita ut usque ad Indos currebant ad commodum suum, tam per mare, quam per terras, institores."—Math. Par. 544.

[b] See edict for annual fairs at Sulmona, Capua, Lucera, Bari, Tarentum, Cosenza, Reggio, Jan. 1234.—Rich. San Germ.

four centuries later. Greek was the spoken language of the people in many parts of the kingdom; the laws of Frederick were translated into Greek for popular use; the epitaph of the Archbishop of Messina in the year 1175 was Greek.[c] There were Greek priests and Greek congregations in many parts of Apulia and Sicily; the privileges conferred by the Emperor Henry VI. on Messina had enacted that one of the three magistrates should be a Greek. Hebrew, and still more Arabic, were well known, not merely by Jews and Arabians but by learned scholars. Frederick himself spoke German, Italian, Latin, Greek, Arabic, and Hebrew. He declared his own passionate love for learned and philosophical studies. Nothing after the knowledge of affairs, of laws and of arms, became a monarch so well; to this he devoted all his leisure hours, these were the liberal pursuits which adorned and dignified human life.[d] In Syria, and in his intercourse with the Eastern monarchs, he had obtained great collections of books; he caused translations to be made from the Arabic, and out of Greek into Latin, of some of the philosophic works of Aristotle and the Almagest of Ptolemy.[e] The university of Naples was his great foundation; Salerno remained the famous school of medicine; but the university in the capital was encouraged by liberal endowments, by regulations with regard to the relations of the scholars and the citizens; the price of lodgings was fixed by royal order; sums of money were to be advanced to youths at low interest, and could not be exacted during the years of study. The King held out to the more promising students honourable employments in his service. Philosophical studies appeared most suited to the genius of Frederick; natural history and the useful sciences he cultivated

[c] Von Raumer, p. 556.

[d] Peter de Vineâ, iii. 67.

[e] He employed the celebrated Michael Scott (the fabled magician) in the translation of Aristotle. Among the Papal documents relating to England in the British Museum are several letters concerning this remarkable man, patronised alike by Frederick and by the Popes. Honorius III. writes (Jan. 16, 1225, p. 214) to the Archbishop of Canterbury to bestow preferment on Michael Scott: "Quod inter literatos dono vigeat scientiæ singulari." M. Scott (p. 229) has a licence to hold pluralities. (P. 246) he is named by the Pope Archbishop of Cashel, and to hold his other benefices. (P. 253) he refuses the Archbishopric: "Dum linguam terræ illius se ignorare diceret." He is described as not only a great Latin scholar, but as familiar with Hebrew and Arabic.

with success; but he had likewise great taste for the fine arts, especially for architecture, both ornamental and military. He restored the walls of many of the greatest cities; built bridges and other useful works. He had large menageries, supplied from the East and from Africa. He sometimes vouchsafed to send some of the more curious animals about for the instruction and amusement of his subjects. The Ravennese were delighted with the appearance of some royal animals. He was passionately fond of field sports, of the chase with the hound and the hawk; his own book on falconry is not merely instructive on that sport, but is a scientific treatise on the nature and habits of those birds, and of many other animals. The first efforts of Italian sculpture and painting rose under his auspices; the beautiful Italian language began to form itself in his court: it has been said above that the earliest strains of Italian poetry were heard there: Peter de Vineâ, the Chancellor of Frederick, the compiler of his laws, was also the writer of the earliest Italian sonnet. Nor was Peter de Vineâ the only courtier who emulated the King in poetry; his beloved son Enzio, many of his courtiers, vied with their King and his ministers in the cultivation of the Italian language; and its first fruits the rich harmonious Italian poetry.[f]

His own age beheld with admiring amazement the magnificence of Frederick's court, the unexampled progress in wealth, luxury, and knowledge; the peace of the realm, notwithstanding some disturbance by those proud barons, whose interest it was to maintain the old feudal and seignorial rights; the reluctance of the clergy to recede from the complete dominion over the popular mind; the taxation, which weighed, especially as Frederick became more involved in the Lombard war, on all classes. Still the world had seen no court so splendid, no system of laws so majestically equitable; a new order of things appeared to be

[f] Some of these poems I have read in a collection of the Poeti del Primo Secolo, Firenze, 1814. A small volume has been published by the Literary Union of Stuttgard (1543), Italienische Lieder des Hohenstaufischen Hofes in Sicilien. It contains lays by thirteen royal and noble authors. Dante, in his book De Vulgari Eloquentia, traces to the court of Frederick the origin of the true and universal Italian language. We return to this subject.

arising; an epoch to be commencing in human civilisation. But this admiration was not universal: there was a deep and silent jealousy, an intuitive dread in the Church,[s] and in all the faithful partisans of the Church of remote, if not immediate danger; of a latent design, at least a latent tendency in the temporal kingdom to set itself apart, and to sever itself from the one great religious Empire, which had now been building itself up for centuries. There was, if not an avowed independence, a threatening disposition to independence. The legislation, if it did not directly clash, as it seemed to do, with the higher law of the Church; if it did not make the clergy wholly subordinate, degraded them in some respect to the rank of subjects; if it did not abrogate, it limited what were called the rights and privileges, but which were in fact the separate rule and dominion of the clergy; at all events, it assumed a supremacy, set itself above, admitted only what it chose of the great Canon Law of the Church; it was self-originating, self-asserting, it had not condescended to consult those in whom for centuries all political as well as spiritual wisdom had been concentered; it was a legislation neither emanating from, nor consented to by the Church. If every nation were thus to frame its own constitution, without regard to the great unity maintained by the Church, the vast Christian confederacy would break up; Kings might assume the power of forbidding the recurrence to Rome as the religious capital of the world; independent kingdoms might aspire to found independent churches. This new knowledge too was not less dangerous because its ultimate danger was not clearly seen; at all events, it was not knowledge introduced, sanctioned, taught by the sole great instructress, the Church. Theology, the one Science, was threatened by a rival, and whence did that rival profess to draw her wisdom? from the Heathen, the Jew, the

[s] The Pope seemed to consider that Frederick's new constitutions *must* be inimical to the Church. "Intelleximus siquidem quod vel proprio motu, vel seductus inconsultis consiliis perversorum, novas edere constitutiones intendis ex quibus *necessario* sequitur ut dicaris Ecclesiæ persecutor et obrutor publicæ libertatis."—lib. v. Epist. 91, apud Raynald. 1231. He reproaches the Archbishop of Capua as "Frederico constitutiones destructivas salutis et institutivas enormium scandalorum edenti voluntarius obsequens."—Apud Höfler, ii. p. 333.

Unbeliever; from the Pagan Greek, the Hebrew, the Arabic. That which might be in itself harmless, edifying, improving, when taught by the Church, would but inflame the rebellious pride of the human intellect. What meant this ostentatious toleration of other religions, if not total indifference to Christ and God; if not a secret inclination to apostasy? What was all this splendour, but Epicurean or Eastern luxury? What this poetry, but effeminate amatory songs? Was this the life of a Christian King, of a Christian nobility, of a Christian people? It was an absolute renunciation of the severe discipline of the Church, of that austere asceticism, which however the clergy and religious men alone could practise its angelic, its divine perfection, was the remote virtue after which all, even Kings (so many of whom had exchanged their worldly robes for the cowl and for sackcloth) ought to aspire, as to the ultimate culminating height of true Christianity. It was Mohammedan not merely in its secret indulgences, its many concubines, in which the Emperor was still said to allow himself Mohammedan licence; some of his chosen companions, his trusted counsellors, at least his instructors in science and philosophy were Mohammedans; ladies of that race and religion appeared, as has been said, at his court (in them virtue was a thing incredible to a sound churchman). The Saracens whom he had transplanted to Nocera were among his most faithful troops, followed him in his campaigns; it was even reported, that after his marriage with Isabella of England, he dismissed her English ladies, and made her over to the care of Moorish eunuchs.

Such to the world was the fame, such to the Church the evil fame of Frederick's Sicilian court; exaggerated no doubt as to its splendour, luxury, licence, and learning, as well by the wonder of the world, as by the abhorrence of the Church. Yet, after all, out of his long life, long if considered not by years but by events, by the civil acts, the wars, the negotiations, the journeyings, the vicissitudes, crowded into it by Frederick's own busy and active ambition and by the whirling current of affairs, the time during which he sunned himself in this gorgeous volup-

tuousness must have been comparatively short, intermittent, broken. At eighteen years of age Frederick left Sicily to win the Imperial crown: he had then eight years of the cold German climate and the rude German manners during the establishment of his Sovereignty over the haughty German Princes and Prelates. Then eight years in the South, but in the four first the rebellious Apulian and Sicilian nobles were to be brought under control, the Saracens to be reduced to obedience, and transported to Apulia: during the later four, was strife with the Lombard cities, strife about the Crusade, and preparation for the voyage. Then his Eastern campaign, his reconciliation with the Church. Four years followed of legislation; and perhaps the nearest approach to indolent and luxurious peace. Then came the revolt of his son. Four years more to coerce rebellious Germany, to attempt in vain to coerce rebellious Lombardy: all this was to close, with his life, in the uninterrupted immitigable feud with Gregory IX. and Innocent IV.

A.D. 1220 to 1224. A.D. 1225 to 1228. A.D. 1230 to 1234. A.D. 1234 to 1238.

The Decretals.

The Pope Gregory IX., it is impossible to decide how far influenced by the desire of overawing this tendency of temporal legislation to assert its own independence, determined to array the higher and eternal law of the Church in a more august and authoritative form. The great code of the Papal Decretals constituted this law; it had now long recognised and admitted to the honours of equal authority the bold inventions of the book called by the name of Isidore; but during the Pontificate of Innocent III. there had been five distinct compilations, conflicting in some points, and giving rise to intricate and insoluble questions.[h] Gregory in his old age aspired to be the Justinian of the Church. He entrusted the compilation of a complete and regular code to Raimond de Pennaforte, a noble Spaniard, related to

[h] "Sane diversas constitutiones, et decretales epistolas, prædecessorum nostrorum in diversa sparsas volumina, quarum aliquæ propter nimiam similitudinem, et quædam propter contrarietatem, nonnullæ etiam propter suam prolixitatem, confusionem inducere videbantur; aliquæ vero vagabantur extra volumina supradicta, quæ tanquam incertæ frequenter in judiciis vacillabant." —In Præfat.

the royal house of Arragon, of the Dominican Order, and now the most distinguished jurist in the University of Bologna. Raymond de Pennaforte was to be to the Canon what Irnerius of Bologna had been to the revived Roman law. It is somewhat singular that Raymond had been the most famous antagonist of the Arabian school of learning, the most admired champion of Christianity, in his native Spain.

The first part of these Decretals comprehended the whole, in a form somewhat abbreviated; abbreviation which, as some complained, endangered the rights of the Church on important points; but was defended by the admirers of Raymond of Pennaforte, who declared that he could not err, for an angel from Heaven had constantly watched over his holy work.[1] The second contained the Decretals of Gregory IX. himself. The whole was promulgated as the great statute law of Christendom, superior in its authority to all secular laws as the interests of the soul were to those of the body, as the Church of greater dignity than the State; as the Pope higher than any one temporal sovereign, or all the sovereigns of the world. Though especially the law of the clergy, it was the law binding likewise on the laity as Christians, as religious men, both as demanding their rigid observance of all the rights, immunities, independent jurisdictions of the clergy, and concerning their own conduct as spiritual subjects of the Church. All temporal jurisprudence was bound to frame its decrees with due deference to the superior ecclesiastical jurisprudence; to respect the borders of that inviolable domain; not only not to interfere with those matters over which the Church claimed exclusive cognisance, but to be prepared to enforce by temporal means those decrees which the Church, in her tenderness for human life, in her clemency, or in her want of power, was unwilling or unable herself to carry into execution. Beyond that sacred circle temporal legislation might claim the full allegiance of its temporal subjects; but the Church alone could touch the holy person, punish the delinquencies,

[1] Chiflet, quoted by Schroeck, xxvii. 64. Raymond de Pennaforte was canonised by Clement VIII., in 1601.

control the demeanour of the sacerdotal order; could regulate the power of the superior over the inferior clergy, and choose those who were to be enrolled in the order. The Church alone could administer the property of the Church; that property it was altogether beyond the province of the civil power to tax; even as to feudal obligations, the Church would hardly consent to allow any decisions but her own: though compelled to submit to the assent of the crown in elections to benefices which were temporal fiefs, yet that assent was, on the other hand, counterbalanced by her undoubted power to consecrate or to refuse consecration. The Book of Gregory's Decretals was ordered to be the authorised text in all courts and in all schools of law; it was to be, as it were, more and more deeply impressed into the minds of men. Even in its form it closely resembled the Roman law yet unabrogated in many parts of Europe; but of course it comprehended alike those who lived under the different national laws, which had adopted more or less of the old Latin jurisprudence; it was the more universal statute-book of the more wide-ruling, all-embracing Rome.

CHAPTER XIV.

RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES BETWEEN GREGORY IX. AND FREDERICK II.

Peace of nine years, Aug. 1230 to 1239, Palm Sunday.

During the nine years of peace between the Empire and the Papacy, Pope Gregory IX. at times poured forth his flowery eloquence to the praise, almost the adulation of the Emperor; the Emperor proclaimed himself the most loyal subject of the Church. The two potentates concurred only with hearty zeal in the persecution of those rebels against the civil and ecclesiastical power, the heretics.[a] At Rome multitudes of meaner religious criminals were burned; many priests and of the lower orders of clergy degraded and sent to Monte Casino and other rigid monasteries as prisoners for life.[b] The Pope issued an act of excommunication rising in wrath and terror above former acts. Persons suspected of heresy

[a] During this period of peace an obscure heresy, that of the Stedinger, appeared or grew to its height in the duchy of Oldenburg; the Pope and the Emperor would concur in inflicting summary punishment on these rebels. Hartung, the Archbishop of Bremen, had long appealed to Rome. On one occasion he returned with full power to subdue his refractory spiritual subjects, bearing, as he boasted, a singular and significant relique,—the sword with which Peter had struck off the ear of Malchus. More than thirty years after, Archbishop Gerhard, Count de la Lippe, a martial prelate, turned not his spiritual but his secular arms against them. Among their deadly tenets was the refusal to pay tithes. The Pope recites the charges against them, furnished of course by their mortal enemies. They worshipped the Evil One now as a toad, which they kissed behind and on the mouth, and licked up its foul venom; now as a man, with a face wonderfully pale, haggard, with coal-black eyes. They kissed him; his kiss was cold as ice, and with his kiss oozed away all their Catholic faith. The Pope would urge the Emperor to take part in the war against these wretches. Conrad of Marburg, the hateful persecutor of the saintly Elizabeth of Hungary, now the Holy Inquisitor, was earnest and active in the cause. The Stedinger withstood a crusading army of 40,000 men; were defeated with the loss of 6000. Many fled to other lands; the rest submitted to the Archbishop. The Pope released them from the excommunication: but it is curious to observe, he only censures their disobedience and insurrection; he is silent of their heresy.—Raynaldus, sub ann. 1233; Shroeck. xxix. 641. &c. The original authorities are Albert. Stad. Ger. Monach. apud Boehmer—above all, the Papal letters.

[b] Vit. Gregor. IX. Rich. San German. Raynald. sub ann. 1231.

were under excommunication; if within a year they did not prove themselves guiltless, they were to be treated as heretics. Heretics were at once infamous; if judges, their acts were at once null; if advocates they could not plead; if notaries the instruments which they had drawn were invalid. All priests were to be publicly stripped of their holy dress and degraded. No gifts or oblations were to be received from them; the clerk who bestowed Christian burial on a heretic was to disentomb him with his own hands, and cast him forth from the cemetery, which became an accursed place unfit for burial. No lay person was to dispute in public or in private concerning the Catholic faith: no descendant of a heretic to the second generation could be admitted to holy orders. Annibaldi the Senator of Rome and the Roman people passed a decree, enacting condign punishment on all heretics. The Emperor, not content with suppressing these insurgents in his hereditary dominions, had given orders that throughout Lombardy, their chief seat, they should be sought out, delivered to the Inquisitors,[c] and there punished by the secular arm.[d] One of his own most useful allies, Eccelin di Romano, was in danger. Eccelin's two sons, Eccelin and Alberic, offered to denounce him to the Inquisition. There was, what it is difficult to describe but as profound hypocrisy, or worse, on the part of the Pope: he declared his unwillingness to proceed to just vengeance against the father of such pious sons, who by his guilt would forfeit, as in a case of capital treason, all their inheritance; the sons were to persuade Eccelin to abandon all connexion with heresy or with heretics: if he refused, they were to regard their own salvation, and to denounce their father before the Papal tribunal.[e] It is strange enough that the suspected heretic, suspected perhaps not unjustly, took the

[c] Gregory in one letter insinuates that Frederick had burned some good Catholics, his enemies, as pretending that they were or had been heretics.—Epist. 244. Raynald. p. 85.

[d] See ante note, p. 362.

[e] The age may be pleaded in favour of Gregory IX. What is to be said of the comment of the Papal annalist, Raynaldus: "Nec mirum cuiquam videri potest datum hoc filiis adversus parentem consilium, cum numinis, a quo descendit omnis paternitas, causa humanis affectibus debet anteferri."—p. 41. Raynald. 1231.

vows, and died in the garb of a monk; the pious son became that Eccelin di Romano whose cruelty seems to have defied the exaggeration of party hatred.

But in all other respects the Pope and the Emperor were equally mistrustful of each other; peace was disguised war. Each had an ally in the midst of the other's territory, whom he could not avow, yet would not abandon. Even in these perverse times the conduct of the Romans to the Pope is almost inexplicable. No sooner had the Pope, either harassed or threatened by their unruly proceedings, withdrawn in wrath, or under the pretext of enjoying the purer and cooler air, to Reate, Anagni, or some other neighbouring city, than Rome began to regret his absence, to make overtures of submission; and still received him back with more rapturous demonstrations of joy.[f] In a few months they began to be weary of their quiet: his splendid buildings for the defence and ornament of the city lost their imposing power, or became threatening to their liberties; he was either compelled or thought it prudent to retire. Viterbo had become to the Romans what Tusculum had been in a former century; the Romans loved their own liberty, but their hate of Viterbo was stronger than their love; the fear that the Pope might take part with Viterbo brought them to his feet; that he did not aid them in the subjugation of Viterbo rekindled their hostility to him. More than once the Pope called on the Emperor to assist him to put down his insurgent subjects: Frederick promised, eluded his promise;[g] his troops were wanted to suppress rebellions not feigned, but rather of some danger, at Messina and Syracuse. He had secret partisans everywhere: when Rome was Papal Viterbo was Imperialist; when Viterbo was for

[f] Rich. de S. Germ., sub ann. 1231, 1233. He returned to Rome, March 1233. He was again in Anagni in August!

[g] Rebellion, reconciliation, 1233. New rebellion, beginning of 1234. "Quo Fredericus imperator apud sanctum Germanum certa relatione comperto, qui fidele defensionis presidium ecclesiæ Romanæ promiserat, et fidei et majestatis oblitus, Messanam properans, nullo persequente decessit, hostibus tanti favoris auxilium ex cessione daturus."—Vit. Gregor. Compare Pope's letter, (Feb. 3, from Anagni, and Feb. 10). But in fact there was a dangerous insurrection in Messina; the King's Justiciary had been obliged to fly. Frederick had to put down movements also at Syracuse and Nicosia.—Ann. Sicul. Rich. San Germano.

the Pope Rome was for the Emperor. If Frederick was insincere in his maintenance of the Pope against his domestic enemies, Gregory was no less insincere in pretending to renounce all alliance, all sympathy with the Lombards. But this connection of the Pope with the Lombard League required infinite management and dexterity: the Lombard cities swarmed with heretics, and so far were not the most becoming allies of the Pope.[h] Yet this alliance might seem an affair, not of policy only, but of safety. Gregory could not disguise to himself that so popular, so powerful a sovereign had never environed the Papal territories on every side. If Frederick (and Frederick's character might seem daring enough for so impious an act) should despise the sacred awe which guarded the person of the Pope, and scorn his excommunications, he was in an instant at the gates of Rome, of fickle and treacherous Rome. He had planted his two colonies of Saracens near the Apulian frontier; they at least would have no scruple in executing his most irreverent orders. The Pope was at his mercy, and friendless, as far as any strong or immediate check on the ambition or revenge of the Emperor. The Pope, in supporting the Lombard Republics, assumed the lofty position of the sacred defender of liberty, the asserter of Italian independence, when Italy seemed in danger of lying prostrate under one stern and despotic monarchy, which would extend from the German Ocean to the further shore of Sicily. At first his endeavours were wisely and becomingly devoted to the maintenance of peace; a peace which, so long as the Emperor refrained from asserting his full Imperial rights, so long as the Guelfs ruled undisturbed in those cities in which their interests predominated, the Republics were content to observe; the lofty station of me-

[h] A modern writer, rather Papal, thus describes the state of Italy at that time: "Alle Kreise und Stände derjenigen Theils der Nation, den man als den eigentlichen Träger der Intelligenz in Italien betrachten müsste, waren geistig frei und machtig genug, wo ihre Interessen denen der Kirche entgegen waren, die letzteren mit Füssen zu treten, nicht bloss einzelne Podestaten, oder das Geld-interesse des gemeinen Volkes, sondern oft alle gebildeten Städtbewohner wagten es keck den Bannstrahlen des Papstes hohn zu sprechen."—Leo, Geschichte der Italien, ii. 234.

diator of such peace became his sacred function, and gave him great weight with both parties.[1] But nearly at the same time an insurrection of the Pope's Roman subjects, more daring and aggressive than usual, compelled him to seek the succour of Frederick, and Frederick was threatened with a rebellion which the high-minded and religious Pope could not but condemn, though against his fearful adversary.

Affairs of Rome.

For the third or fourth time the Pope had been compelled to retire to Reate. Under the Senatorship of Luca di Sabelli the Senate and people of Rome had advanced new pretensions, which tended to revolutionise the whole Papal dominions. They had demolished part of the Lateran palace, razed some of the palaces of the Cardinals, proclaimed their open defiance of the Pope's Governor, the Cardinal Rainier. They had sent justiciaries into Tuscany and the Sabine country to receive oaths of allegiance to themselves, and to exact tribute. The Pope wrote pressing letters addressed to all the princes and bishops of Christendom, imploring succour in men and money; there was but one near enough at hand to aid, had all been willing. The Pope could not but call on him whose title as Emperor was protector of the Church, who as King of Naples was first vassal of the Papal See. Frederick did not disobey the summons: with his young son Conrad he visited the Pope at Reate. The Cardinal Rainier had thrown himself with the Pope's forces into Viterbo; the army of Frederick sat down before Respampano, a strong castle which the Romans occupied in the neighbourhood as an annoyance, and as a means, it might be, of surprising and taking Viterbo. But Respampano made resistance; Frederick himself retired, alleging important affairs, to his own dominions. The Papalists burst into a cry of reproach at his treacherous abandonment of the Pope. Yet it was entirely by the aid of some of his German troops that the Papal army inflicted a

May, 1234.

May 20, 1234.

Sept. 1234.

[1] See the letter to Frederick, in which he assumes the full power of arbitration between the Emperor and the League.— Monument. Germ. iv. 299, dated June 5, 1233.

humiliating defeat on the Romans, who were compelled to submit to the terms of peace dictated by the Pope,[k] and enforced by the Emperor, who was again with the Pope at Reate. Angelo Malebranca, "by the grace of God the illustrious Senator of the gentle city" (such were the high-sounding phrases), by the decree and authority of the sacred Senate, by the command and instant acclamation of the famous people, assembled in the Capitol at the sound of the bell and of the trumpet, swore to the peace proposed by the three Cardinals, between the Holy Roman Church, their Father the Supreme Pontiff, and the Senate and People of Rome. He swore to give satisfaction for the demolition of the Lateran palace and those of the Cardinals, the invasion of the Papal territories, the exaction of oaths, the occupation of the domains of the Church. He swore that no clerks or ecclesiastical persons belonging to the families of the Pope or Cardinals should be summoned before the civil tribunals: (thus even in Rome there was a strong opposition to those immunities of the clergy from temporal jurisdiction for temporal offences.) This did not apply to laics who belonged to such households. He swore to protect all pilgrims, laymen as well as ecclesiastics, who visited the shrines of the Apostles.[m] The peace was re-established likewise with the Emperor and his vassals; with Anagni, Segni, Velletri, Viterbo, and other cities of the Papal territories. But even during this compulsory approximation to the Emperor, the Pope, to remove all suspicion that he might be won to desert their cause, wrote to the Lombards to reassure them. However, he might call upon them not to impede the descent of the Imperial troops from the Alps, those troops were not directed against their liberties, but came to maintain the liberties of the Church.

April 16, 1235.

But if the rebels against the Pope were thus his immediate subjects the Romans, the rebel against Frederick was his own son. Henry had been left to rule Germany

[k] "Milites in civitate Viterbio collocavit, quorum quotidianis insultibus et depredationibus Romani adeo sunt vexati, ut non multo post cum Papâ pacem subirent."—God. Colon. The author of the life of Gregory says that the Emperor, instead of aiding the Pope, idled his time away in hunting: "Majestatis titulum in officium venaturæ commutans... in capturam avium sollicitabat aquilas triumphales."

[m] Apud Raynald. ann. 1235.

as King of the Romans; the causes and indeed the objects of his rebellion are obscure.[n] Henry appears to have been a man of feeble character; so long as he was governed by wise counsellors, filling his high office without blame; released from their control, the slave of his own loose passions, and the passive instrument of low and designing men. The only impulse to which the rebel son could appeal was the pride of Germany, which would no longer condescend to be governed from Italy, and to be a province of the kingdom of Apulia. Unlike some of his predecessors, Pope Gregory took at once the high Christian tone: he would seek no advantage from the unnatural insurrection of a son against his father. All the malicious insinuations against Gregory are put to silence by the fact that, during their fiercest war of accusation and recrimination, Frederick never charged the Pope with the odious crime of encouraging his son's disobedience. Frederick passed the Alps with letters from the Pope, calling on all the Christian Prelates of Germany to assert the authority of the King and of the parent. Henry had held a Council of Princes[o] at Boppart to raise the standard of revolt, and had entered into treasonable league with Milan and the Lombard cities. The rebellion was as weak as wanton and guilty; Frederick entered Germany with the scantiest attendance; the affrighted son, abandoned by all his partisans, met him at Worms, and made the humblest submission.[p] He renewed his pardon; but probably some new detected intrigues, or the refusal to surrender his castles, or meditated flight,[q] induced the Emperor to send him as a prisoner to the

Rebellion of King Henry.

May, 1235.

July, 1235.

[n] In the year 1232 Frederick began to entertain suspicions of his son, and to be discontented with his conduct. Henry (but 20 years old) met his father at Aquileia, promised amendment, and to discard his evil counsellors.—Hahn. Collect. Monument. i. 227. Frederick might remember the fatal example of the Franconian house; the conduct of Henry V. to Henry IV. The chief burthen of Henry's vindication, addressed, Sept. 1234, to Bishop Conrad of Hildesheim, is that the Emperor had annulled some of his grants, interfered in behalf of the house of Bavaria (Louis of Bavaria had been guardian of the realm during his minority).

[o] God. Colon. Chron. Erphurd. apud Boehmer Fontes R. G.

[p] "Ipso mense, nullo obstante, Alemanniam intrans, Henricum regem filium suum ad mandatum suum recepit, quem duci Bavariæ custodiendum commisit."—Rich. San Germ.

[q] God. Col. Annal. Erphurdt. Quotation from Ann. Argentin. in Boehmer's Regesta, p. 254.

kingdom of Naples. There he remained in such obscurity that his death might have been unnoticed but for a passionate lamentation which Frederick himself sent forth, in which he adopted the language of King David on the loss of his ungrateful but beloved Absalom.[r]

Worms had beheld the sad scene of the ignominious arrest and imprisonment of the King of the Germans: that event was followed by the splendid nuptials of the Emperor with Isabella of England.

But though the Pope was guiltless, if indeed he was guiltless, the Lombards were deep in this conspiracy against the power and the peace of Frederick. They, if they had not from the first instigated, had inflamed the ambition of Henry:[s] they had offered, if he would cross the Alps, to invest him at Monza with the iron crown of Italy.[t] Frederick's long-suppressed impatience of Lombard freedom had now a justifiable cause for vengeance. The Ghibelline cities—Cremona, Parma, Pisa, and others; the Ghibelline Princes Eccelin and Alberic, the two sons of the suspected heretic Eccelin II., who had now descended from his throne, and taken the habit of a monk, though it was rumoured that his devotion was that of an austere Paterin rather than that of an orthodox recluse; summoned the Emperor to relieve them from the oppressions of the Guelfic league, and to wreak his just revenge on these aggressive rebels. Frederick's declaration of war was drawn with singular subtlety. His chief object, he declared, was the suppression of heresy. The wide prevalence of heresy the Pope could not deny; to espouse the Lombard cause was to espouse that at least of imputed heresy; it was to oppose the Emperor in the exercise of his highest imperial function, the promotion of the unity of

Lombards concerned in King Henry's rebellion.

May 1, 1236.

Aug. 1236.

[r] Besides this pathetic letter in Peter de Vineâ, iv. 1, see the more extraordinary one, quoted by Höfler, addressed to the people of Messina.

[s] Galvaneo Fiamma has these words: "Henricus composuit cum Mediolanensibus ad petitionem Domini Papa."—c. 264. "Et tunc facta est lega fortis inter Henricum et Mediolanenses ad petitionem Papæ contra Imperatorem patrem suum."—Annal. Mediolen., Muratori, xvi. 624. These are Milanese, certainly not Ghibelline writers!

[t] During this year (1235) Frederick assisted with seemingly deep devotion at the translation to Marburg of the remains of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. 1,200,000 persons are said to have been present.—Montalembert, Vie de St. Elizabeth d'Hongrie.

the Church. The Emperor could not leave his own dominions in this state of spiritual and civil revolt to wage war in foreign lands: so soon as he had subdued the heretic he was prepared to arm against the Infidel. Lombardy reduced to obedience, there would be no obstacle to the reconquest of the Holy Land. Yet though thus embarrassed, the Pope, in his own defence, could not but interpose his mediation; he commanded both parties to submit to his supreme arbitration. Frederick yielded, but resolutely limited the time; if the arbitration was not made before Christmas, he was prepared for war. To the most urgent remonstrances for longer time he turned a deaf and contemptuous ear: he peremptorily challenged the Legate whom the Pope had appointed, the Cardinal Bishop of Prænestе, and refused to accept as arbiter his declared enemy.[u] Frederick had already begun the campaign: Verona had opened her gates; he had stormed Vicenza, and laid half the city in ashes. He was recalled beyond the Alps by the sudden insurrection of the Duke of Austria. Gregory so far yielded, that in place of the obnoxious Cardinal of Prænestе, he named as his Legates the Cardinals of Ostia and of San Sabina. He commended them with high praise to the Patriarchs of Aquileia and of Grado, to the Archbishops of Genoa and Ravenna, whom, with the suffragans and all the people of Northern Italy, he exhorted to join in obtaining the blessings of peace. But already he began to murmur his complaints of those grievances which afterwards darkened to such impious crimes. The Frangipanis were again breaking out into turbulence in Rome:[x] it was suspected and urged that they were in the pay of Frederick. Taxes had been levied on the clergy in the kingdom of Naples; they had been summoned before civil tribunals; the old materials of certain churches had been profanely converted by the Saracens of Nocera to the repair of their mosques. The answer of Frederick was lofty and galling. He denied the truth of the Pope's charges; he appealed to

Nov. 1, 1236.

March, 1237.

[u] Compare the letter, apud Raynald. sub ann. 1236; more complete in Höfler, p. 357, and 360.

[x] "Hoc anno Petrus Frangipane, 1236, in urbe Româ pro parte Imperatoris guerram movit contra Papam et Senatorem."—Rich. San Germ.

the conscience of the Pope. Gregory demanded by what right he presumed to intrude into that awful sanctuary.[y] "Kings and princes were humbly to repose themselves on the lap of priests; Christian Emperors were bound to submit themselves not only to the supreme Pontiff, but even to other bishops. The Apostolic See was the judge of the whole world; God had reserved to himself the sole judgment of the manifest and hidden acts of the Pope. Let the Emperor dread the fate of Uzzah, who laid his profane hands on the ark of God." He urged Frederick to follow the example of the great Constantine, who thought it absolutely wicked that, where the Head of the Christian religion had been determined by the King of Heaven, an earthly Emperor should have the smallest power, and had therefore surrendered Italy to the Apostolic government, and chosen for himself a new residence in Greece.[z]

Second descent on Italy.

Frederick returned from Germany victorious over the rebellious Duke of Austria; his son Conrad had been chosen King of the Romans. He crossed the Alps with three thousand German men-at-arms, besides the forces of the Ghibelline cities: he was joined by ten thousand Saracens from the South. His own ambassadors, Henry the Master of the Teutonic Order and his Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, by whom he had summoned the Pope to his aid against the enraged Lombards, had returned from Rome without accomplishing their mission. At the head of his army he would not grant audience to the Roman legates, the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia and the Cardinal of St. Sabina, who peremptorily enjoined him to submit to the arbitration of the Pope. The great battle of Corte Nuova might seem to avenge the defeat of his ancestor Frederick Barbarossa at Legnano. The Lombard army was discomfited with enormous loss; the Carroccio of Milan, defended till nightfall, was stripped of its banners,

Aug. 1237.

Nov. 27, 1237.

[y] "Quod nequaquam incaute ad judicanda secreta conscientiæ nostræ .... evolasses; cum regum colla et principum videas genibus sacerdotum, et Christiani Imperatores subdere debeant executiones suas non solum Romano Pontifici, quin etiam aliis præsulibus non præferre, nec non Dominus sedem apostolicam, cujus judicio orbem terrarum subjicit, in occultis et manifestis a nemine judicandum, soli suo judicio reservavit."—Greg. Epist. 10, 253, Oct. 23, 1236, apud Raynald.

[z] Ibid.

and abandoned to the conqueror. Frederick entered Cremona, the palaces of which city would hardly contain the captives, in a splendid ovation. The Podestâ of Milan, Tiepolo, son of the Doge of Venice, was bound on the captive Carroccio; borne, as in the pomp of an Eastern potentate, on an elephant, followed with a wooden tower, with trumpeters and the Imperial standard. The pride of Frederick at this victory was at its height; he supposed that it would prostrate at once the madness of the rebels; he called upon the world to rejoice at the restoration of the Roman Empire to all its rights.[a] The Carroccio was sent to Rome as a gift to the people of the gentle city: it was deposited in the Capitol, a significant menace to the Pope.[b] But where every city was a fortress, inexpugnable by the arts of war then known, a battle in the open field did not decide the fate of a league which included so many of the noblest cities of Italy. Frederick had passed the winter at Cremona; the terror of his arms had enforced at least outward submission from many of the leaguers. Almost all Piedmont, Alexandria, Turin, Susa, and the other cities raised the Ghibelline banner. Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Bologna, remained alone in arms; even they made overtures for submission. Their offers were in some respects sufficiently humiliating; to acknowledge themselves rebels, to surrender all their gold and silver, to place their banners at the feet of the Emperor, to furnish one thousand men for the Crusades; but they demanded in return a general amnesty and admission to the favour of the Emperor, the maintenance of the liberties of the citizens and of the cities. Frederick haughtily demanded absolute and unconditional surrender. They feared, they might well fear, Frederick's severity against rebels. With mistimed and impolitic rigour he had treated the captive

[a] See the letter in Peter de Vineâ. "Exultet jam Romani Imperii culmen . . . mundus gaudeat universus . . . confundatur rebellis insania."—Frederick disguised not, he boasted of the aid of his Saracens. He describes the Germans reddening their swords with blood, Pavia and Cremona wreaking vengeance on the tyrannous Milanese, "et suas evacuaverunt pharetras Saraceni."

[b] "Quando illum ad almæ urbis populum destinavit." A marble monument of this victory was shown in 1727.—Muratori, Dissert. xxvi. t. ii. p. 491. The inscription was:—

"Ergo triumphorum urbis memor esto priorum,
Quos tibi mittebant reges qui bella gerebant."

—Francisc. Pipin. apud Muratori.

Podestà of Milan as a rebel; Tiepolo was sent to Naples, and there publicly executed. The Republics declared that it was better to die by the sword than by the halter, by famine, or by fire.[c] Frederick, in the summer of the next year, undertook the siege of Brescia; at the end of two months, foiled by the valour of the citizens and the skill of their chief engineer, a Spaniard, Kalamandrino, he was obliged to burn his besieging machines, and retire humiliated to Padua. But without aid the Lombard liberties must fall: the Emperor was master of Italy from the Alps to the straits of Messina; the knell of Italian independence was rung; the Pope a vassal at the mercy of Frederick. Aug. 2 to Oct. 1238.

The dauntless old man rose in courage with the danger. Temporal allies were not absolutely wanting. Venice, dreading her own safety, and enraged at the execution of her noble son, Tiepolo, sent proposals for alliance to the Pope. The treaty was framed; Venice agreed to furnish 25 galleys, 300 knights, 2000 foot-soldiers, 500 archers; she was to obtain, as the price of this aid, Bari and Salpi in Apulia, and all that she could conquer in Sicily.[d]

The Pope wrote to the confederate cities of Lombardy and Romagna, taking them formally under the protection of the Holy See.[e] Genoa, under the same fears as Venice, and jealous of Imperialist Pisa, was prepared with her fleets to join the cause. During these nine years of peace, even if the former transgressions of Frederick were absolutely annulled by the treaty and absolution of St. Germano, collisions between two parties both grasping and aggressive, and with rights the boundaries of which could not be precisely defined, had been inevitable: pretexts could be found, made, or exaggerated into crimes against the spiritual power, which would give some justification to that power to put forth, at such a crisis, its own peculiar weapons; to recur to its only arms, the excommunication, the interdict, the absolution of subjects from their allegiance. Over this power Gregory had full command, in its employment no scruple.

[c] Rich. de San Germ. [d] Dandolo, 356. Marin. iv. 223.
[e] Greg. Epist. apud Hahn. xviii.

On Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in Holy week, with all the civil and ecclesiastical state which he could assemble around him, Gregory pronounced excommunication against the Emperor; he gave over his body to Satan for the good of his soul, absolved all his subjects from their allegiance, laid under interdict every place in which he might be, degraded all ecclesiastics who should perform the services of the Church before him, or maintain any intercourse with him; and commanded the promulgation of this sentence with the utmost solemnity and publicity throughout Christendom. These were the main articles of the impeachment published some months before:—

Excommunication. March 20 to March 24, 1239.

Nov. 1238. Charges against the Emperor.

I. That in violation of his oath, he had stirred up insurrection in Rome against the Pope and the Cardinals. II. That he had arrested the Cardinal of Præneste while on the business of the Church among the Albigenses. III. That in the kingdom of Sicily he had kept benefices vacant to the ruin of men's souls; unjustly seized the goods of churches and monasteries, levied taxes on the clergy, imprisoned, banished, and even punished them with death. IV. That he had not restored their lands or goods to the Templars and Knights of St. John. V. That he had ill-treated, plundered, and expelled from his realm all the partisans of the Church. VI. That he had hindered the rebuilding of the church of Sora, favoured the Saracens, and settled them among Christians. VII. That he had seized and prevented the nephew of the King of Tunis from proceeding to Rome for baptism, and imprisoned Peter, Ambassador of the King of England. VIII. That he had taken possession of Massa, Ferrara, and especially Sardinia, being part of the patrimony of St. Peter. IX. That he had thrown obstacles in the way of the recovery of the Holy Land and the restoration of the Latin Empire in Constantinople, and in the affairs of the Lombards rejected the interposition of the Pope.

Frederick was at Padua, of which his most useful ally, Eccelin di Romano, had become Lord by all his characteristic treachery and barbarity. There were great rejoicings and festivities on that Palm Sunday; races and tournaments

in honour of the Emperor. But some few Guelfs were heard to murmur bitterly among themselves, "This will be a day of woe to Frederick; this day the Holy Father is uttering his ban against him, and delivering him over to the devil!" On the arrival of the intelligence from Rome, Frederick for a time restrained his wrath: Peter de Vineâ, the great Justiciary of the realm of Naples, pronounced in the presence of Frederick, who wore his crown, a long exculpatory sermon to the vast assembly, on a text out of Ovid—"Punishment when merited is to be borne with patience, but when it is undeserved, with sorrow."[f] He declared, "that since the days of Charlemagne, no Emperor had been more just, gentle, and magnanimous, or had given so little cause for the hostility of the Church." The Emperor himself rose and averred, that if the excommunication had been spoken on just grounds, and in a lawful manner, he would have given instant satisfaction. He could only lament that the Pope had inflicted so severe a censure, without grounds and with such precipitate haste; even before the excommunication he had refuted with the same quiet argumentation all these accusations. His first reply had been in the same calm and dignified tone.[g] The Pope had commissioned the Bishops of Wurtzburg, Worms, Vercelli, and Parma to admonish the Emperor previous to the excommunication. In their presence, and in that of the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina, the Bishops of Cremona, Lodi, Novara, and Mantua, many abbots, and some Dominican and Franciscan friars, he had made to all their charges a full and satisfactory answer, and delivered his justification to the Bishops:—I. He had encouraged no insurrection in Rome; he had assisted the Pope with men and money; he had no concern in the new feuds. II. He had never even dreamed of arresting the Cardinal of Prænestе, though he might have found just cause, since the Cardinal, acting for the Pope, had inflamed the Lombards to disobedience and rebellion. III. He could give no answer to the vague

Frederick's confutation of the charges.

Nov. 1238.

[f] Leniter ex merito quicquid patiare ferenda est
Quæ venit indigno pœna dolenda venit.

[g] Peter de Vineâ, i. 21, p. 156. The refutation of the charges, according to Matthew Paris (sub ann. 1239), was anterior to the excommunication.

and unspecified charges as to the oppression of the clergy in the realm of Naples; and as to particular churches he entered into long and elaborate explanations.[h] IV. He had restored all the lands to which the Templars and Knights of St. John had just claim; all but those which they had unlawfully received from his enemies during his minority; they had been guilty of aiding his enemies during the invasion of the kingdom, and some had incurred forfeiture: their lands, in certain cases, were assessable; were this not so, they would soon acquire the whole realm, and that exempt from all taxation. V. No one was condemned as a partisan of the Pope; some had abandoned their estates from fear of being prosecuted for their crimes. VI. No church had been desecrated or destroyed in Lucera; that of Sora was an accident, arising out of the disobedience of the city; he would rebuild that, and all which had fallen from age. The Saracens, who lived scattered over the whole realm, he had settled in one place, for the security of the Christians, and to protect rather than endanger the faith. VII. Abdelasis had fled from the court of the King of Tunis; he was not a prisoner, but living a free and pleasant life, furnished with horses, clothes, and money by the Emperor. He had never (he appealed to the Archbishops of Palermo and Messina) expressed any desire for baptism. Had he done so, no one would have rejoiced more than the Emperor. Peter was no Ambassador of the King of England. VIII. The pretensions of the Pope to Massa and Ferrara were groundless, still more to Sardinia, his son Enzio had married Adelasia, the heiress of that island; he was the rightful King. IX. The King prevents no one from preaching the Crusade; he only interferes with those who, under pretence of preaching a Crusade, preach rebellion against the Sovereign, or, like John of Vicenza, usurp civil power. As to the affairs of Lombardy, the Pope had but interposed delays, to the frustration of his military plans. He would willingly submit to just terms; but after the unmeasured

[h] See especially, in a letter in Höfler, his justification for the refusal to rebuild the church at Sora. The city had rebelled, had been razed, church and all, and sown with salt. Frederick had sworn that the city should never be again inhabited: why build a church for an uninhabited wilderness?

demands of the Lombards, and such manifest hostility on the part of the Pope, it would be dangerous and degrading to submit to the unconditional arbitration of the Pope.

The indignation of Frederick might seem to burst out with greater fury from this short, stern suppression. He determined boldly, resolutely to measure his strength, the strength of the Emperor, the King of Sicily, so far the conqueror (notwithstanding the failure before Brescia) of the Lombard republics, against the strength of the Popedom. The Pope had declared war on causes vague, false or insignificant; the true cause of the war, Frederick's growing power and his successes in Lombardy, the Pope could not avow; Frederick would appeal to Christendom, to the world, on the justice of his cause, and the unwarranted enmity of the Pope. He addressed strong and bitter remonstrances to the Cardinals, to the Roman people, to all the Sovereigns of Christendom. To the Cardinals he had already written, though his letter had not reached Rome before the promulgation of the excommunication, admonishing them to moderate the hasty resentment of the Pope. He endeavoured to separate the cause of the Pope from that of the Church; but vengeance against Gregory and the family of Gregory could not satisfy the insulted dignity of the Empire; if the authority of the Holy See, and the weight of their venerable college, thus burst all restraint, he must use all measures of defence; injury must be repelled with injury.[1] Some of the Cardinals had endeavoured to arrest the precipitate wrath of Gregory; he treated their timid prudence with scorn. To the Romans the Emperor expressed his indignant wonder that Rome being the head of the Empire, the people, without reverence for his majesty, ungrateful for all his munificence, had heard tamely the blasphemies of the Roman Pontiff against the Sovereign of Rome; that of the whole tribe of Romulus there was not one bold patrician, of so many thousand Roman citizens not one, who uttered a word of remonstrance, a word of sympathy with their insulted Lord. He called on them March 10.

[1] Apud Petrum de Vineâ, i. vi.

to rise and to revenge the blasphemy upon the blasphemer, and not to allow him to glory in his presumption, as if they consented to his audacity.[k] As he was bound to assert the honour of Rome, so were they to defend the dignity of the Roman Emperor."

Appeal to the Princes of Christendom. April 20.

Before all the temporal Sovereigns of the world, the Emperor entered into a long vindication of all his acts towards the Church and the Pope; he appealed to their justice against the unjust and tyrannous hierarchy. "Cast your eyes around, lift up your ears, O sons of men, that ye may hear, behold the universal scandal of the world, the dissensions of nations, lament the utter extinction of justice. Wickedness has gone out from the Elders of Babylon, who hitherto appeared to rule the people, whilst judgment is turned into bitterness, the fruits of justice into wormwood. Sit in judgment ye Princes, ye People take cognizance of our cause; let judgment go forth from the face of the Lord and your eyes behold equity." The Papal excommunication had dwelt entirely on occurrences subsequent to the peace of St. Germano. The Emperor went back to the commencement of the Pope's hostility: he dwelt on his ingratitude, his causeless enmity. "He, who we hoped thought only of things above, contemplated only heavenly things, dwelt only in heaven, was suddenly found to be but a man; even worse, by his acts of inhumanity not only a stranger to truth, but without one feeling of humanity." He charged the Pope with the basest duplicity;[m] he had professed the firmest friendship for the Emperor, while by his letters and his Legates he was acting the most hostile part.[n] This charge rested on his own letters, and the testimony of his factious accomplices. The Pope had called on the Emperor to defy and wage war against the Romans on his

[k] "Quia cum idem blasphemator noster ausus non fuisset in nostri nominis blasphemiam prorumpere, de tantâ præsumptione gloriari non possit, quod valentibus et volentibus Romanis, contra nos talia perpetrasset," &c.—Apud Petr. de Vin. i. vii. Math. Par. 332.

[m] "Asserens quod nobis omnia planissima faciebat, cujus contrarium per nuncios et literas manifeste procurarat; prout constat testimonio plurium nostrorum fidelium qui tunc temporis erant omnium conscii velut ex eis quidam participes, et alii principes factionis."

[n] He brought the charge against the Pope of writing letters to the Sultan, dissuading him from making peace, letters which he declared had fallen into his hands.

behalf, and at the same time sent secret letters to Rome that this war was waged without his knowledge or command, in order to excite the hatred of the Romans against the Emperor. Romè, chiefly by his power, had been restored to the obedience of the Pope; what return had the Pope made?—by befriending the Lombard rebels in every manner against their rightful Lord![o] No sooner had he raised a powerful army of Germans to subdue these rebels, than the Pope inhibited their march, alleging the general truce proclaimed for the Crusade. The Legate, the Cardinal of Prænestè, whose holy life the Pope so commended, had encouraged the revolt of Piacenzà. Because he could find no just cause for his excommunication, the Pope had secretly sent letters and Legates through the Empire, through the world, to seduce his subjects from their allegiance. He had promised the ambassadors of Frederick, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishops of Florence and Reggio, the Justiciary Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Archbishop of Messina, that he would send a Legate to the Emperor to urge the Lombards to obedience; but in the mean time, he sent a Legate to Lombardy to encourage and inflame their resistance. Notwithstanding his answer to all the charges against him, which had made the Bishops of the Papal party blush by their completeness;[p] notwithstanding this unanswerable refutation, the Pope had proceeded on Palm Sunday, and on Thursday in the Holy Week, to excommunicate him on these charges; this at the instigation of a few Lombard Cardinals, most of the better Cardinals, if report speaks true, remonstrating against the act. "Be it that we had offended the Pope by some public and singular insult, how violent and inordinate these proceedings, as though, if he had not vomited forth the wrath that boiled within him, he must have burst! We grieve from our reverence for our Mother the Church! Could we accept the Pope, thus our avowed enemy, no

[o] "Audite mirabilem circumventionis modum ad depressionem nostræ justitiæ excogitatum. Dum pacem cum nobis habere velle se simularet ut Lombardos ad tempus, per treugarum suffragia, respirantes, contra nos fortius post-modum in rebellione confirmet."—Epist. ad H. R. Angliæ. Rymer, sub ann. 1238.

[p] "Quanquam de patris instabilitate confusos se filii reputarent, ne verecundiâ capitis rubor ora perfunderet."—p. 156.

equitable judge to arbitrate in our dispute with Milan; Milan, favoured by the Pope, though by the testimony of all religious men, swarming with heretics?[q] We hold Pope Gregory as an unworthy Vicar of Christ, an unworthy successor of St. Peter; not in disrespect to his office, but of his person, who sits in his court like a merchant weighing out dispensations for gold, himself signing, writing the bulls, perhaps counting the money. He has but one real cause of enmity against me, that I refused to marry to his niece my natural son Enzio, now King of Sardinia. But ye, O Kings and Princes of the earth, lament not only for us, but for the whole Church; for her head is sick; her prince is like a roaring lion; in the midst of her sits a frantic prophet, a man of falsehood, a polluted priest!" He concludes by calling all the princes of the world to his aid; not that his own forces are insufficient to repel such injuries, but that the world may know that when one temporal prince is thus attacked the honour of all is concerned.

Appeal to the commonalty.

Another Imperial address seems designed for a lower class, that class whose depths were stirred to hatred of the Emperor by the Preachers and the Franciscans. Its strong figurative language, its scriptural allusions, its invective against that rapacity of the Roman See which was working up a sullen discontent even among the clergy, is addressed to all Christendom. Some passages must illustrate this strange controversy. "The Chief Priests and the Pharisees have met in Council against their Lord, against the Roman Emperor. 'What shall we do, say they, for this man is triumphing over all his enemies?' If we let him alone, he will subdue the glory of the Lombards; and, like another Cæsar, he will not delay to take away our place and destroy our nation. He will hire out the vineyard of the Lord to other labourers, and condemn us without trial, and bring us to ruin." "Let us not await the fulfilment of these words of our Lord, but strike him quickly, say they, with our tongues; let our arrows be no more concealed, but go forth; so go forth as to strike, so strike as to wound; so be he wounded

[q] This very year Frederick renewed his remorseless edicts against the Lombard heretics.—Feb. 22. Monument. Germ. I. 326, 7, 8.

as to fall before us, so fall as never to rise again; and then will he see what profit he has in his dreams." Thus speak the Pharisees who sit in the seat of Moses. . . . "This father of fathers, who is called the servant of servants, shutting out all justice, is become a deaf adder; refuses to hear the vindication of the King of the Romans; hurls malediction into the world as a stone is hurled from a sling; and sternly, and heedless of all consequences, exclaims, 'What I have written, I have written.'"

In better keeping Frederick alludes to the words of our Lord to his disciples after his resurrection, "That Master of Masters said not, 'Take arms and shield, the arrow, and the sword;' but, 'Peace be with you.'" On the avarice of the Pope he is inexhaustible. "But thou having nothing, but possessing all things, art ever seeking what thou mayest devour and swallow up; the whole world cannot glut the rapacity of thy maw, for the whole world sufficeth thee not. The Apostle Peter, by the Beautiful Gate, said to the lame man, 'I have neither silver nor gold;' but thou, if thy heap of money, which thou adorest, begins to dwindle, immediately beginnest to limp with the lame man, seeking anxiously what is of this world.[r] . . . Let our Mother Church then bewail that the shepherd of the flock is become a ravening wolf, eating the fatlings of the flock; neither binding up the broken, nor bringing the wanderer home to the fold; but a lover of schism, the head and author of offence, the father of deceit; against the rights and honour of the Roman King he protects heretics, the enemies of God, and of all the faithful in Christ; having cast aside all fear of God, all respect of man. But that he may better conceal the malice of his heart, he cherishes and protects these enemies of the Cross and of the faith, under a certain semblance of piety, saying that he only aids the Lombards lest the Emperor should slay them, and should judge more rigorously than his justice requires. But this fox-like craft will not deceive the skilful hunter. . . . O grief! rarely dost thou expend the vast treasures of the Church on the poor! But, as Anagni bears witness, thou hast commanded a wonderful mansion,

[r] In one place he calls him "Gregorius gregis disgregator potius."

as it were the Palace of the Sun, to be built, forgetful of Peter, who long had nothing but his net; and of Jerusalem, which lies the servant of dogs, tributary to the Saracens; 'All power is from God,' writes the Apostle; 'whoso resists the power resists the authority of God.' Either receive, then, into the bosom of the Church her elder son,[s] who without guile incessantly demands pardon; otherwise, the strong lion, who feigns sleep, with his terrible roar will draw all the fat bulls from the ends of the earth, will plant justice, take the rule over the Church, plucking up and destroying the horns of the proud!"[t]

Pope's reply.

The Pope, in his long and elaborate reply, exceeded even the violence of this fierce Philippic. It is thus that the Father of the Faithful commences his manifesto against the Emperor in the words of the Apocalypse: "Out of the sea is a beast arisen, whose name is all over written 'Blasphemy;' he has the feet of a bear, the jaws of a ravening lion, the mottled limbs of the panther. He opens his mouth to blaspheme the name of God; and shoots his poisoned arrows against the tabernacle of the Lord, and the saints that dwell therein. . . . Already has he laid his secret ambush against the Church, he openly sets up the battering engines of the Ishmaelites; builds schools for the perdition of souls,[u] lifts himself up against Christ the Redeemer of man, endeavouring to efface the tablets of his testament with the pen of heretical wickedness. Cease to wonder that he has drawn against us the dagger of calumny, for he has risen up to extirpate from the earth the name of the Lord. Rather, to repel his lies by the simple truth, to refute his sophisms by the arguments of holiness, we exorcise the head, the body, the extremities of this beast, who is no other than the Emperor Frederick."

Then follows a full account of the whole of Frederick's former contest with Gregory, in which the Emperor is treated throughout as an unmeasured liar. "This shameless artisan of falsehood lies when he says that I was of old his friend." The history of the preparation for the

[s] "Filium singularem."

[t] Peter de Vineâ, i. 1.

[u] Gregory no doubt alludes to the universities founded by Frederick.

Crusade, and the Crusade is related with the blackest calumny. To Frederick is attributed the death of the Crusaders at Brundusium, and the poisoning of the Landgrave of Thuringia, insinuated as the general belief. The suppression of heresy in Lombardy could not be entrusted to one himself tainted by heresy. The insurrections in Lombardy are attributed to the Emperor's want of clemency; the oppressions of the Church are become the most wanton and barbarous cruelties; the dwellings of Christians are pulled down to build the walls of Babylon; churches are destroyed that edifices may be built where divine honours are offered to Mohammed. The kingdom of Sicily, so declares the Pope, is reduced to the utmost distress.[x] By his unexampled cruelties, barons, knights, and others have been degraded to the state and condition of slaves; already the greater part of the inhabitants have nothing to lie upon but hard straw, nothing to cover their nakedness but the coarsest clothes; nothing to appease their hunger but a little millet bread. The charge of dilapidation of the Papal revenues, of venal avarice, the Pope repels with indignation: "I, who by God's grace have greatly increased the patrimony of the Church. He falsely asserts that I was enraged at his refusing his consent to the marriage of my niece with his natural son.[y] He lies more impudently when he says that I have in return pledged my faith to the Lombards against the Empire." Throughout the whole document there is so much of the wild exaggeration of passion, and at the same time so much art in the dressing out of facts; such an absence of the grave majesty of

[x] Read the Canonico Gregorios's sensible account of the taxation of Sicily by Frederick II. "Occupato di continuo nelle guerre Italiane, intento a reprimere nei suoi stati i movimenti dei faziosi, e della implacabile ira dei suoi nemici oppresso e dai Romani Pontefici sempre consternato, ebbe così varia e travagliata fortuna, e fu in tali angustie di continuo redutto, ed ai suoi molti e pressanti e sempre nuovi bisogni più non trovò gli ordinari proventi della corona, e le antiche rendite del regno sufficiente. Indi avvenne, chè da quel tempo in poi fu constretto ad ordinare i più sottili modi, perchè acerescesce le pubbliche entrate, e nuovi contribuzioni, comecchè fosse, si procacciasse: anzi le cose in processo di tempo aspramente e per molta irritazion di animo si exacerbarono."—t. iii. p. 110. No doubt, as his finances became more and more exhausted by war, the burthens must have been heavier. But the flourishing state of Sicilian commerce and agriculture during the peaceful period but now elapsed, confutes this virulent accusation of the Pope.

[y] This is not strictly a denial of the fact of such proposals, or at least of advances by the Pope. This charge of early nepotism is curious.

religion and the calm simplicity of truth, as to be surprising even when the provocations of Frederick's addresses are taken into consideration. But the heaviest charge was reserved for the close. "In truth this pestilent King maintains, to use his own words, that the world has been deceived by three impostors;[z] Jesus Christ, Moses, and Mahomet: that two of these died in honour, the third was hanged on a tree. Even more, he has asserted distinctly and loudly that those are fools, who aver that God, the Omnipotent Creator of the world, was born of a Virgin."

Charge about the three impostors.

Such was the blasphemy of which the Pope arraigned the Emperor before Christendom. Popular rumour had scattered abroad through the jealousy of the active priesthood, and still more through the wandering Friars, many other sayings of Frederick equally revolting to the feelings of the age; not merely that which contrasted the fertility of his beloved Sicily with the Holy Land, but sayings which were especially scornful as to the presence of Christ in the sacrament. When he saw the host carried to a sick person, he is accused of saying, "How long will this mummery last?"[a] When a Saracen prince was present at the mass, he asked what was in the monstrance: "The people fable that it is our God." Passing once through a corn-field, he said, "How many Gods might be made out of this corn?" "If the princes of the world would stand by him he would easily make for all mankind a better faith and better rule of life."[b]

Frederick was not unconscious of the perilous workings of these direct and indirect accusations upon the popular mind. He hastened to repel them; and to turn the language of the Apocalypse against his accuser. He thus addressed the bishops of Christendom. After declaring that God had created two great lights for the guidance of mankind, the Priesthood, and the

Frederick's rejoinder.

[z] A book was said to have existed at this time, with this title; it has never been discovered. I have seen a vulgar production with the title, of modern manufacture.

[a] "Quam diu durabit Truffa ista?"

[b] Peter de Vineâ, i. 31. He was said also to have laid down the maxim, "Homo nihil aliud debet credere, nisi quod potest vi et ratione naturæ probare."—Apud Raynald.

Empire:—"He, in name only Pope, has called us the beast that arose out of the sea, whose name was Blasphemy, spotted as the panther. We again aver that he is the beast of whom it is written, 'And there went out another horse that was red, and power was given to him that sat thereon to take away peace from the earth, that the living should slay each other.' For from the time of his accession this Father, not of mercies but of discord, not of consolation but of desolation, has plunged the whole world in bitterness. If we rightly interpret the words, he is the great anti-Christ, who has deceived the whole world, the anti-Christ of whom he declares us the forerunner. He is a second Balaam hired by money to curse us; the prince of the princes of darkness who have abused the prophecies. He is the angel who issued from the abyss having the vials full of wormwood to waste earth and heaven." The Emperor disclaims in the most emphatic terms the speech about the three impostors; rehearses his creed, especially concerning the Incarnation, in the orthodox words; expresses the most reverential respect for Moses: "As to Mahomet, we have always maintained that his body is suspended in the air, possessed by devils, his soul tormented in hell, because his works were works of darkness and contrary to the laws of the Most High." The address closed with an appeal to the sounder wisdom of the Prelates, and significant threats of the terrors of his vengeance.

The effect of this war of proclamations, addressed, only with a separate superscription, to every King in Christendom, circulated in every kingdom, was to fill the hearts of the faithful with terror, amazement, and perplexity. Those who had espoused neither the party of the Emperor nor of the Pope fluctuated in painful doubt. The avarice of the Roman See had alienated to a great extent the devotion of mankind, otherwise the letter of the Pope would have exasperated the world to madness; they would have risen in one wide insurrection against the declared adversary of the Church, as the enemy of Christ. "But alas!" so writes a cotem-

July 1.

Public opinion in Christendom.

porary historian, "Many sons of the Church separated themselves from their father the Pope, and joined the Emperor, well knowing the inexorable hatred between the Pope and the Emperor, and that from that hatred sprung these fierce, indecent, and untrustworthy invectives. The Pope, some said, pretends that from his love to Frederick he had contributed to elevate him to the Empire, and reproaches him with ingratitude. But it is notorious that this was entirely out of hatred to Otho, whom the Pope persecuted to death for asserting the interests of the Empire, as Frederick now asserts them. Frederick fought the battle of the Church in Palestine, which is under greater obligation to him than he to the Church. The whole Western Church, especially the monasteries, are every day ground by the extortions of the Romans; they have never suffered any injustice from the Emperor. The people subjoined, 'What means this; a short time ago the Pope accused the Emperor of being more attached to Mohammedanism than to Christianity, now he is accused of calling Mohammed an impostor. He speaks in his letters in the most Catholic terms. He attacks the person of the Pope, not the Papal authority. We do not believe that he has ever avowed heretical or profane opinions; at all events he has never let loose upon us usurers and plunderers of our revenues.'"[c]

This was written in an English monastery. In England as most heavily oppressed, there was the strongest discontent. The feeble Henry III., though brother-in-law of the Emperor, trembled before the faintest whisper of Papal authority. But the nobles, even the Churchmen, began to betray their Teutonic independence. Robert Twenge, the Yorkshire knight, the ringleader of the insurrection against the Italian intruders into the English benefices, ventured to Rome, not to throw himself at the Pope's feet and to entreat his pardon, but with a bold respectful letter from the Earls of Chester, Winchester, and other nobles, remonstrating against the invasion of their rights of patronage. Gregory was compelled to condescend to a more moderate tone; he renounced all intention of usurpation

[c] Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1239.

on the rights of the barons. Robert Twenge received the acknowledgment of his right to present to the church of Linton. All the Prelates of the realm, assembled at London, disdainfully rejected the claim made for procurations for the Papal Legate Otho, whom two years before they had allowed to sit as Dictator of the Church in the council of London.[d] "The greedy avarice of Rome," they said, "has exhausted the English church; it will not give it even breathing time; we can submit to no further exactions. What advantage have we from the visitation of this Legate? Let him that sent him here uninvited by the native clergy, maintain him as long as he remains here." The Legate, finding the Prelates obstinate, extorted a large sum for his procurations from the monasteries.

The Emperor highly resented the publication of the sentence of excommunication in the realm of the brother of his Empress Isabella. He sent a haughty message,[e] expostulating with the King for permitting this insult upon his honour; he demanded the dismissal of the Legate, no less the enemy of the kingdom of England than his own;[f] the Legate who was exacting money from the whole realm to glut the avarice of the Pope, and to maintain the Papal arms against the Emperor. Henry III. sent a feeble request to Rome, imploring the Pope to act with greater mildness to Frederick; the Pope treated the message with sovereign contempt. Nor did the Legate behave with less insolent disdain to the King. Henry advised him to quit the kingdom; "You invited me here, find me a safe conduct back." In the mean time he proceeded again to levy his own procurations, to sell (so low was the Pope reduced), by Gregory's own orders, dispensations to those who had taken on them vows to proceed to the Holy Land. At length, at a council held at Reading, he

[d] Wilkins Concilia, 1237. Compare page 310.

[e] Letter to the Barons of England (Boehmer, Oct. 29, 1239), Rymer, 1238? To the King, March 16, 1840. Matt. Paris, 1239.

[f] Henry, before the declaration of the Pope against the Emperor, had sent a small force, under Henry de Turberville and the Bishop Elect of Valence, to aid Frederick against the insurgent Lombards. The army was accompanied by a citizen and a clerk of London, John Mansel and W. Hardel, with money — Paris, sub ann. 1238. Matt. West. The Pope broke out into fury against the King.

demanded a fifth of all the revenues of the English clergy, in the name of the Pope to assist him in his holy war against the Emperor. Edmund Rich the Primate yielded to the demand, and was followed by others of the bishops.[g] But Edmund, worn out with age and disgust, abandoned his see, withdrew into France, and in the same monastery of Pontigny, imitated the austerities and prayers, as he could not imitate the terrors, of his great predecessor Becket. The lower clergy were more impatient of the Papal demands. A crafty agent of the Pope, Pietro Rosso[h] (Peter the Red), travelled about all the monasteries extorting money; he falsely declared that all the bishops, and many of the higher abbots, had eagerly paid their contributions. But he exacted from them, as if from the Pope himself, a promise to keep his assessment secret for a year. The abbots appealed to the King, who treated them with utter disdain. He offered one of his castles to the Legate and Peter the Red, to imprison two of the appellants, the Abbots of St. Edmundsbury and of Beaulieu. At Northampton the Legate and Peter again assembled the bishops, and demanded the fifth from all the possessions of the Church. The bishops declared that they must consult their archdeacons. The clergy refused altogether this new levy; they would not contribute to a fund raised to shed Christian blood. The rectors of Berkshire were more bold; their answer has a singular tone of fearless English freedom; they would not submit to contribute to funds raised against the Emperor as if he were a heretic; though excommunicated he had not been condemned by the judgement of the Church; even if he does occupy the patrimony of the Church, the Church does not employ the secular arm against heretics. The Church of Rome has its own patrimony, it has no right to tax the churches of other nations. The Pope has the general care over all churches, but no property in their estates. The Lord said to Peter, "What you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven;" not "What you exact on

[g] Edmund had aspired to be a second Becket; he had raised a quarrel with the King on the nomination to the benefices; but feebly supported by Gregory in his distress, he recoiled from the contest.

[h] De Rubeis.

earth shall be exacted in heaven." The revenues of the Church were assigned to peculiar uses, for the relief of the poor, not for maintenance of war, especially among Christians. Popes, even when they were exiles and the Church of England was at its wealthiest, had made no such demands." Yet partly by sowing discord among his adversaries, partly by flattery, partly by menace, the Legate continued, to the great indignation of the Emperor, to levy large sums for the Papal Crusade in the dominions of his brother-in-law.[1] All Saints, 1240.

In France Pope Gregory attempted to play a loftier game; an appeal to the ambition of the royal house; he would raise up a new French Pepin or Charlemagne to the rescue of the endangered Papacy. He sent ambassadors to the court of St. Louis with this message:—"After mature deliberation with our brethren the Cardinals we have deposed from the imperial throne the reigning Emperor Frederick; we have chosen in his place Robert, brother of the King of France. Delay not to accept this dignity, for the attainment of which we offer all our treasures, and all our aid." The Pope could hardly expect the severe rebuke in which the pious King of France couched his refusal of this tempting offer. "Whence this pride and audacity of the Pope, which thus presumes to disinherit and depose a King who has no superior, nor even an equal, among Christians; a King neither convicted by others, nor by his own confession, of the crimes laid to his charge. Even if those crimes were proved, no power could depose him but a general council. On his transgressions the judgement of his enemies is of no weight, and his deadliest enemy is the Pope. To us he has not only thus far appeared guiltless, he has been a good neighbour; we see no cause for suspicion either of his worldly loyalty, or his Catholic faith. This we know, that he has fought valiantly for our Lord Jesus Christ both by sea and land. So much religion we have not found in the Pope, who endeavoured to confound and wickedly supplant him in his absence, while he was Offer of Imperial Crown to Robert of France.

[1] M. Paris, sub ann. 1240.

engaged in the cause of God."[k] The nobles of France did more, they sent ambassadors to Frederick to inform him of the Pope's proceedings, and to demand account of his faith. Frederick was moved by this noble conduct. He solemnly protested his orthodox belief. "May Jesus Christ grant that I never depart from the faith of my magnanimous ancestors, to follow the ways of perdition. The Lord judge between me and the man who has thus defamed me before the world." He lifted his hands to heaven, and said in a passion of tears: "The God of vengeance recompense him as he deserves. If," he added, "you are prepared to war against me, I will defend myself to the utmost of my power." "God forbid," said the ambassadors, "that we should wage war on any Christian without just cause. To be the brother of the King of France is sufficient honour for the noble Robert."

In Germany the attempt of the Pope to dethrone the Emperor awoke even stronger indignation. Two princes to whom Gregory made secret overtures refused the perilous honour. An appeal to the Prelates of the Empire was met even by the most respectful with earnest exhortations to peace. In one address they declared the universal opinion that the whole quarrel arose out of the unjustifiable support given by the Pope to the Milanese rebels; and they appealed to the continued residence of the Papal Legate Gregory of Monte Longo in Milan as manifesting the Pope's undeniable concern in that obstinate revolt.[m] Popular German poetry denounced the Pope as the favourer of the Lombard heretics, who had made him drunk with their gold.[n] Gregory himself bitterly complains "that the German princes and prelates still adhered to Frederick, the oppressor, the worse than assassin, who imprisons them, places them under the ban of the Empire, even puts them to death. Nevertheless they despise the Papal anathema, and maintain his cause."[o] Gregory was

[k] Paris, sub ann. 1239.

[m] Apud Hahn, Monument. t. i. p. 234. "Testimonium generalis opinionis quod in favorem Mediolanensium, et suorum sequacium incessentis taliter in eum ... quod G. de Monte Longo legatus vester, apud Mediolanenses continuam moram trahens, fideles imperii modis omnibus, quibus potest, a fide et devotione debitâ nititur revocare."

[n] See the quotation from Bruder Weinher, the Minnesinger, in Gieseler.

[o] Dumont apud Von Raumer.

not fortunate or not wise in the choice of his partisans. One of those partisans, Rainer of St. Quentin, presumed to summon the German prelates to answer at Paris for their disloyal conduct to the Pope. The Pope had invested Albert von Beham Archdeacon of Passau, a violent and dissolute man, with full power; he used it to threaten bishops and even archbishops, he dared to utter sentences of excommunication against them. He alarmed the Duke of Bavaria into the expression of a rash desire that they had another Emperor. It was on Otho of Bavaria that Albert strove to work with all the terrors of delegated papal power. There was a dispute between the Archbishop of Mentz and Otho concerning the convent of Laurisheim. Albert as Papal Legate summoned the Primate to appear at Heidelberg. The archbishop not appearing was declared contumacious; an interdict was laid on Mentz. In another quarrel of Otho with the Bishop of Freisingen the imperialist judges awarded a heavy fine against Otho. Albert, irritated by songs in the streets, "The Pope is going down, the Emperor going up,"[P] rescinded the decree on the Pope's authority, and commanded the institution of a new suit. Albert ordered the Archbishop of Saltzburg and the Bishop of Passau to excommunicate Frederick of Austria for his adherence to the Emperor; summoned a council at Landshut; placed Siegfrid Bishop of Ratisbon, the Chancellor of the Empire, under the ban; threatened to summon the Archbishop of Saltzburg and the Bishop, to arraign them under processes of treason; "He would pluck their mitres from their heads." The Bishop of Passau, in his resentment, threatened to arm his men in a Crusade against Albert von Beham. Albert did not confine himself to Bavaria, he threatened the Bishops of Augsburg, Wurtzburg, Eichstadt, with the same haughty insolence. The consequence of all this contempt thus thrown on the greatest prelates was, that the imperialists every where gained courage. The Emperor, the Landgrave of Thuringia, the Marquis of Meissen, Frederick of Austria,

Albert of Beham.

A.D. 1240.

[P] "Ruit pars Papalis, prævaluit Imperialis."

treated the excommunication as a vulgar ghost, an old wives' tale.[q] But the great prelates did not disguise their wrath; their dislike and contempt for Von Beham was extended to his master. "Let this Roman priest," said Conrad Bishop of Freisingen, "feed his own Italians; we who are set by God as dogs to watch our own folds, will keep off all wolves in sheep's clothing." Eberhard Archbishop of Saltzburg not only applied the same ignominious term to the Pope, but struck boldly at the whole edifice of the Papal power; we seem to hear a premature Luther. He describes the wars, the slaughters, the seditions, caused by these Roman Flamens, for their own ambitious and rapacious ends. "Hildebrand, one hundred and seventy years ago, under the semblance of religion, laid the foundations of Anti-Christ. He who is the servant of servants would be the Lord of Lords. . . . This accursed man, whom men are wont to call Anti-Christ, on whose contumelious forehead is written, 'I am God, I cannot err,' sits in the temple of God and pretends to universal dominion."[r] Frederick himself addressed a new proclamation to the princes of Germany. Its object was to separate the interests of the Church from those of the Pope; those of the Bishop of Rome from Gregory. "Since his ancestors the Cæsars had lavished wealth and dignity on the Popes, they had become the Emperor's most implacable enemies. Because I will not recognise his sole unlimited power and honour him more than God, he, Anti-Christ himself, brands me, the truest friend of the Church, as a heretic. Who can wish more than I that the Christian community should resume its majesty, simplicity, and peace, but this cannot

[q] "Ut tremendum olim excommunicationis nomen, non magis quam conpitalem larvam, aut nutricularum nænias metuerent, probrosum rati cruda militarium hominum pectora capi, angique religionibus, quas sacrificuli ut vanissimas superstitiones despicerent." —Brunner, xii., quoted in the preface to the curious publication of Höfler, "Albert von Beham," Stutgard, 1847. Frederick of Austria held a grave assembly of Teutonic Knights, Templars, and Hospitallers, three abbots, five mystæ. These "Alberti impudentia irrisa; exsibilati qui huic misero nundinatori operam præstarent cujus merces fumosque præter Bohemum Regem, et Bavariæ Ducem nemo æstimaret."—Ibid. "Neque deerant inter sacrificulos scurræ qui omnia Alberti fulmina, negarent se vel una piaculari faba procuraturos, p. xix." Albert was in poverty and disgrace about the time of Gregory's death, May 6, 1241.—Höfler, p. 30.

[r] Aventinus, Annal. Brunner doubts the authenticity of this speech of the Archbishop of Saltzburg. It rests on the somewhat doubtful authority of Aventinus. It sounds rather of a later date.

be, until the fundamental evil, the ambition, the pride, and prodigality of the Bishop of Rome, be rooted up. I am no enemy of the priesthood; I honour the priest, the humblest priest, as a father, if he will keep aloof from secular affairs. The Pope cries out that I would root out Christianity with force and by the sword. Folly! as if the kingdom of God could be rooted out by force and by the sword; it is by evil lusts, by avarice and rapacity, that it is weakened, polluted, corrupted. Against these evils it is my mission of God to contend with the sword. I will give back to the sheep their shepherd, to the people their bishop, to the world its spiritual father. I will tear the mask from the face of this wolfish tyrant, and force him to lay aside worldly affairs and earthly pomp, and tread in the holy footsteps of Christ."[5]

On the other hand, the Pope had now a force working in every realm of Christendom, on every class of mankind, down to the very lowest, with almost irresistible power. The hierarchical religion of the age, the Papal religion, with all its congenial imaginativeness, its burning and unquestioning faith, its superstitions, was kept up in all its intensity by the Preachers and the Mendicant Friars. Never did great man so hastily commit himself to so unwise a determination as Innocent III., that no new Orders should be admitted into that Church which has maintained its power by the constant succession of new Orders. Never was his greatness shown more than by his quick perception and total repudiation of that error. Gregory IX. might indeed have more extensive experience of the use of these new allies: on them he lavished his utmost favour; he had canonised both St. Dominic and St. Francis with extraordinary pomp; he entrusted the most important affairs to their disciples. The Dominicans, and still more the Franciscans, showed at once the wisdom of the Pope's conduct and their own gratitude by the most steadfast attachment to the Papal cause. They were the real dangerous enemies of Frederick in all lands. They were in king's courts; the courtiers looked on them with jealousy, but

The Friars. May 6, 1231.

[5] Frederick wrote to Otho of Bavaria (Oct. 4, 1240) to expel Albert von Beham from his dominions. — Aventin. Ann. Boior. v. 3, 5.

were obliged to give them place; they were in the humblest and most retired villages. No danger could appal, no labours fatigue their incessant activity. The first act of Frederick was to expel, imprison, or take measures of precaution against those of the clergy who were avowed or suspected partisans of the Pope. The Friars had the perilous distinction of being cast forth in a body from the realm, and forbidden under the severest penalties to violate its borders.[t] In every Guelfic city they openly, in every Ghibelline city, if they dared not openly, they secretly preached the Crusade against the Emperor.[u] Milan, chiefly through their preaching, redeemed herself from the charge of connivance at the progress of heresy, by a tremendous holocaust of victims, burned without mercy. The career of John of Vicenza had terminated before the last strife:[v] but John of Vicenza was the type of the Friar Preachers in their height of influence; that power cannot be understood without some such example; and though there might be but one John of Vicenza, there were hundreds working, if with less authority, conspiring to the same end, and swaying with their conjoint force the popular mind.

Nov. 1240.

Assuredly, of those extraordinary men who from time to time have appeared in Italy, and by their passionate religious eloquence seized and for a time bound down the fervent Italian mind, not the least extraordinary was Brother John (Fra Giovanni), of a noble house in Vicenza. He became a Friar Preacher: he appeared in Bologna. Before long, not only did the populace crowd in countless multitudes to his pulpit; the authorities, with their gonfalons and crosses, stood around him in mute and submissive homage. In a short time he preached down every feud in the city, in the district, in the county of Bologna. The women threw aside their ribbons, their flowers; their modest heads were shrouded in a veil.

John of Vicenza.

[t] "Capitula edita sunt, in primis ut Fratres Prædicatores et Minores, qui sunt oriundi de terris infidelium Lombardiæ expellantur de regno."—Rich. de San Germ. Gregory asserts that one Friar Minor was burned.—Greg. Bull, apud Raynald. p. 220.

[u] It is, however, very remarkable that even now the second Great Master of the Franciscans, expelled or having revolted from his Order, Brother Elias, a most popular preacher, was on the side of Frederick.

[v] There is an allusion to John of Vicenza in a letter of Frederick.—Höfler, p. 363.

It was believed that he wrought daily miracles.[x] Under his care the body of St. Dominic was translated to its final resting-place with the utmost pomp. It was said, but said by unfriendly voices, that he boasted of personal conversation with Christ Jesus, with the Virgin Mary, and with the Angels. The Friar Preachers gained above twenty thousand marks of silver from the prodigal munificence of his admirers. He ruled Bologna with despotic sway: released criminals; the Podestâ stood awed before him; the envious Franciscans alone (their envy proves his power) denied his miracles, and made profane and buffoonish verses against the eloquent Dominican.[y]

But the limits of Bologna and her territory were too narrow for the holy ambition, for the wonderful powers of the great Preacher. He made a progress through Lombardy. Lombardy was then distracted by fierce wars; city against city; in every city faction against faction. Wherever John appeared was peace. Padua advanced with her carroccio to Monselice to escort him into the city. Treviso, Feltre, Belluno, Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, Brescia, heard his magic words, and reconciled their feuds. On the shores of the Adige, about three miles from Verona, assembled the whole of Lombardy, to proclaim and to swear to a solemn act of peace. Verona, Mantua, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, came with their carroccios; from Treviso, Venice, Ferrara, Bologna, thronged numberless votaries of peace. The Bishops of Verona, Brescia, Mantua, Bologna, Modena, Reggio, Treviso, Vicenza, Padua, gave the sanction of their sacred presence. The Podestâs of Bologna, Treviso, Padua, Vicenza, Brescia, Ferrara, appeared and other lords of note, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Marquis of Este. It was asserted that 400,000 persons stood around. John of

August 28, 1233.

[x] But, says an incredulous writer, "Dicevasi ancora ch' egli curasse ogni malattia, e che cacciasse i demoni; ma io non potei vedere alcuno da lui liberato, benchè pure usassi ogni mezzo per vederlo; nè potei parlare con alcuno chè affirmasse con sicurezza di aver veduto qualche miracolo da lui operato." —Salimbeni.

[y] "Et Johannes Johannisat
Et saltando choraizat:
Modo salta, modo salta,
Qui cælorum petis alta.
Saltat iste, saltat ille,
Resultant cohortes mille;
Saltat chorus Dominarum,
Saltat Dux Venetiarum."

—From Salimbeni, Von Raumer, iii. p. 656.

Vicenza ascended a stage sixty feet high; it was said that his sermon on the valedictory words of the Lord, "My peace I leave with you," was distinctly heard, wafted or echoed by preternatural powers to every ear.[z] The terms of a general peace were read, and assented to by one universal and prolonged acclamation. Among these was the marriage of Rinaldo, son of the Marquis of Este, with Adelaide daughter of Alberic, brother of Eccelin di Romano. This was the gage of universal amity; these two great houses would set the example of holy peace. Men rushed into each other's arms; the kiss of peace was interchanged by the deadliest enemies, amid acclamations which seemed as if they would never cease.

But the waters of the Po rise not with more sudden and overwhelming force, ebb not with greater rapidity, than the religious passions of the Italians, especially the passion for peace and concord. John of Vicenza split on the rock fatal always to the powerful spiritual demagogues, even the noblest demagogues, of Italy. He became a politician. He retired to his native Vicenza; entered into the Council, aspired to be Lord and Count; all bowed before him. He proceeded to examine and reform the statutes of the city. He passed to Verona, demanded and obtained sovereign power, introduced the Count Boniface, received hostages for mutual peace from the conflicting parties; took possession of some of the neighbouring castles; waged fierce war with heretics; burned sixty males and females of some of the noble families; published laws. Vicenza became jealous of Verona; Padua leagued with Vicenza to throw off the yoke. The Preacher, at the head of an armed force, appeared at the gates, demanded the unconditional surrender of the walls, towers, strongholds of the city. He was repelled, discomfited, by the troops of Padua and Vicenza, taken, and cast into prison.

He was released by the intercession of Pope Gregory IX.[a] The peace of Lombardy was then accordant to the Papal

[z] Even the Franciscans were carried away by the enthusiasm; they preached upon his miracles; they averred that he had in one day raised ten dead bodies to life.

[a] It is said that he was afterwards commissioned by Innocent IV. to proclaim the Papal absolution in Vicenza, from excommunication incurred by the succours furnished by that city to Frederick II.

policy, because it was embarrassing to Frederick II. He returned to Verona; but the spell of his power was broken. He retired to Bologna, to obscurity. Bologna even mocked his former miracles. Florence refused to receive him: "Their city was populous enough; they had no room for the dead which he would raise." [b]

Christendom awaited in intense anxiety the issue of this war; for war which, according to the declaration of the Emperor, would not respect the sacred person of the Pope, and would enforce, if he were victorious, the absolute, unlimited supremacy of the temporal power, was now proclaimed and inevitable. The Pope must depend on his own armies and on those of his Italian allies. The tenths and the fifths of England and of France might swell the Papal treasury, and enable him to pay his mercenary troops; but there was no sovereign, no army of Papal partisans beyond the Alps, which would descend to his rescue. The Lombards might, indeed, defend their own cities against the Emperor and his son King Enzio, who was declared imperial vicar in the North of Italy, was May 25, 1239. at the head of the Germans and Saracens of the Imperial army, and had begun to display his great military skill and activity. The strength of the maritime powers, who had entered into the league, was in their fleets; though at a later period Venetian forces appeared before Ferrara. The execution of Tiepolo the Podestâ of Milan, taken at the battle of Corte Nuova, had enflamed the resentment of that republic: they seemed determined to avenge the insult and wrong to that powerful and honoured family. But the Pope, though not only his own personal dignity, but even the stability of the Roman See was on the hazard, with the calm dauntlessness which implied his full reliance on his cause as the cause of God, confronted the appalling crisis. Some bishops sent to Rome by Frederick were repelled with scorn. The Pope, as the summer heats came on, feared not to leave fickle Rome: he retired, as

and Eccelin di Romano. Tiraboschi has collected all the authorities on John of Bologna with his usual industry.—Storia della Lit. Ital. vol. xiv. p. 2.

[b] See in Von Raumer how the Gramarian Buoncompagni assembled the people to see him fly, on wings which he had prepared. After keeping them some time in suspense, he coolly said, "This is a miracle after the fashion of John of Vicenza."—Von Raumer, from Salimbeni.

usual, to his splendid palace at Anagni. During the rest of that year successes and failures seemed nearly balanced.[c]

April, 1239. Treviso threw off the Imperial yoke; even Ravenna, supported by a Venetian fleet, rebelled. The Emperor sat down before Bologna, obtained some great advantages humiliating to the Bolognese, but, as usual, failed in his attempt to capture the town. These successes before Bologna were balanced by failure, if not defeat, before Milan.

September. Bologna was not so far discomfited but that she could make an attack on Modena. In November the Pope returned to Rome: he was received with the utmost honour, with popular rejoicings.

Nov. 1239. He renewed in the most impressive form the excommunication of the Emperor and all his sons, distinguishing with peculiar rigour the King Enzio.

The Emperor passed the winter in restoring peace in Ghibelline Pisa. The feud in Pisa was closely connected with the affairs of Sardinia.[d] Pisa claimed the sovereignty of that island, which the all-grasping Papacy declared a fief of the Roman See. Ubaldo, of the noble Guelfic house of Visconti, had married Adelasia, the heiress of the native Judge or Potentate of Gallura and of Tura: he bought the Papal absolution from a sentence of excommunication and the recognition of his title by abandoning the right of Pisa, and acknowledging the Papal sovereignty. Pisa heard this act of treason with the utmost indignation. The Gherardesci, the rival Ghibelline house, rose against the Visconti. Ubaldo died; and Frederick (this

1240. was among the causes of Gregory's deadly hatred) married the heiress Adelasia to his natural son, whom

[c] The castles of Piumazzo and Crevacuore were taken. Piumazzo was burned; the captain of the garrison was burned in the castle; 500 taken prisoners.—July.

[d] The Sardinian affair was another instance of the way in which an assertion once made that a certain territory or right belonged to the See of St. Peter, grew up into what was held to be an indefeasible title. The Popes had made themselves the successors of the Eastern Emperors. Their own declaration that Naples was a fief of the Holy See (having been acknowledged by the Normans to piece out their own usurpation) became a legal inalienable dominion. The claim to Sardinia rested on nothing more than the assertion that it was a part of the territory of the Roman See (it was no acknowledged part of the inheritance of the Countess Matilda).—Rich. de San Germ. The strange assertion that all islands belonged to the See of Rome, as well as all lands conquered from heretics, if already heard, was not yet an axiom of the canon law.

he proclaimed King of Sardinia. The Ghibellines of Pisa recognised his title.

With the early spring the Emperor, at the head of an imposing, it might seem, irresistible force, advanced into the territories of the Church. Foligno threw open her gates to welcome him. Other cities from fear or affection, Viterbo from hatred of Rome, hailed his approach. Ostia, Civita Castellana, Corneto, Sutri, Montefiascone, Toscanella received the enemy of the Pope. The army of John of Colonna, which during the last year had moved into the March against King Enzio, was probably occupied at some distance: Rome might seem to lie open; the Pope was at the mercy of his foe. Could he depend on the fickle Romans, never without a strong Imperial faction? Gregory, like his predecessors, made his last bold, desperate, and successful appeal to the religion of the Romans. The hoary Pontiff set forth in solemn procession, encircled by all the Cardinals, the whole long way from the Lateran to St. Peter's. The wood of the true cross, the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul were borne before him; all alike crowded to receive his benediction. The Guelfs were in a paroxysm of devotion, which spread even among the overawed and unresisting Ghibellines. In every church of the city was the solemn mass; in every pulpit of the city the Friars of St. Dominic and St. Francis appealed to the people not to desert the Vicar of Christ, Christ himself in his Vicar; they preached the new Crusade, they distributed crosses to which were attached the same privileges of pardon, and so of eternal life, if the wearers should fall in the glorious conflict, awarded to those who fought or fell for the holy sepulchre of Christ. February.

To these new Crusaders Frederick showed no compassion; whoever was taken with the cross was put to death without mercy, even if he escaped more cruel and ignominious indignities before his death.

The Emperor was awed, or was moved by respect for his venerable adversary: he was either not strong enough, or not bold enough to march at once on Rome, and so to fulfil his own menaces. He retired into Apulia; some overtures for reconciliation were made; March, 1240.

Frederick endeavoured to detach the Pope from his allies, and to induce him to make a separate peace. But the Pope, perhaps emboldened by the return of some of his Legates with vast sums of money from England and other foreign countries, resolutely refused to abandon the Lombard League.[e] Up to this time he had affected to disavow his close alliance, still to hold the lofty tone of a mediator; now he nobly determined to be true to their cause. He bore the remonstrances, on this, perhaps on some other cause of quarrel, of his ablest general, the Cardinal John Colonna. Colonna had agreed to a suspension of arms, which did not include the Lombards; this the Pope refused to ratify. Colonna declared that he would not break his plighted faith to the Emperor. "If thou obeyest not," said the angry Pope, "I will no longer own thee for a Cardinal." "Nor I thee," replied Colonna, "for Pope." Colonna joined the Ghibelline cause, and carried over the greater part of his troops.[f]

Ferrara in the mean time was for ever lost to the Imperialist side. Salinguerra, the aged and faithful partisan of the Emperor, was compelled to capitulate to a strong force, chiefly of Venetians. They seized his person by an act of flagrant treachery: for five years Salinguerra languished in a Venetian prison.

April.

The Emperor advanced again from the South, wasted the Roman territory, and laid siege to Benevento, which made an obstinate resistance. The Emperor was at St. Germano; but instead of advancing towards Rome, he formed the siege of Faenza.

May.

August.

The Pope meditated new means of defence. Imperial armies were not at his command; he determined to environ himself with all the majesty of a spiritual Sovereign; he would confront the Emperor at the head of the hierarchy of Christendom; he issued a summons to all the Prelates of Europe to a General Council to be held in the Lateran palace at Easter in the ensuing year; they were to consult on the important affairs of the Church.

A.D. 1241.

[e] Peter de Vineâ, i. 36. Canis. Lect. Œfele Script. Bohem. i. 668.

[f] This quarrel was perhaps rather later in point of time.

The Emperor and the partisans of the Emperor had appealed to a general Council against the Pope; but a Council in Rome, presided over by the Pope, was not the tribunal to which they would submit. Frederick would not permit the Pope, now almost in his power, thus to array himself in all the imposing dignity of the acknowledged Vicar of Christ. He wrote a circular letter to the Kings and Princes of Europe, declaring that he could not recognise nor suffer a Council to assemble, summoned by his arch-enemy, to which those only were cited who were his declared foes, either in actual revolt, or who, like the English prelates, had lavished their wealth to enable the Pope to carry on the war. "The Council was convened not for peace but for war." Nor had the summons been confined to hostile ecclesiastics; his temporal enemies, the Counts of Provence and St. Bonifazio, the Marquis of Este, the Doge of Venice, Alberic di Romano, Paul Traversaria, the Milanese, were invited to join this unhallowed assembly. So soon as the Pope would abandon the heretical Milanese, reconciliation might at once take place; he was prepared to deliver his son Conrad as hostage for the conclusion of such peace. He called on the Cardinals to stand forth; they were bound by their duty to the Pope, but not to be the slaves of his passion. He appealed to their pride, for the Pope, not content with their counsel, had summoned prelates from all, even the remotest parts of the world, to sit in judgement on affairs of which they knew nothing.[8] To the Prelates of Europe he issued a more singular warning. All coasts, harbours, and ways were beset by his fleet, which covered the seas: "From him who spared not his own son, ye may fear the worst. If ye reach Rome, what perils await you! Intolerable heat, foul water, unwholesome food, a dense atmosphere, flies, scorpions, serpents, and men filthy, revolting, lost to shame, frantic. The whole city is mined beneath, the hollows are full of venomous snakes, which the summer heat quickens to life. And what would the Pope of you? Use you as cloaks for his iniquities, the

Sept. 13, 1240.

[8] Quoted from Pet. de Vin. in Bibl. Barberina, No. 2138, by Von Raumer, p. 96.

organ-pipes on which he may play at will. He seeks but his own advantage, and for that would undermine the freedom of the higher clergy; of all these perils, perils to your revenues, your liberties, your bodies, and your souls, the Emperor, in true kindness, would give you this earnest warning." Many no doubt were deterred by these remonstrances and admonitions. Yet zeal or fear gathered together at Genoa a great concourse of ecclesiastics. The Legate, Cardinal Otho, brought many English prelates; the Cardinal of Palestrina appeared at the head of some of the greatest dignitaries of France; the Cardinal Gregory, of Monte Longo, with some Lombard Bishops, hastened to Genoa, to urge the instant preparation of the fleet, which was to convey the foreign prelates to Rome.[h] Frederick was seized with apprehension at the meeting of the Council. He tried to persuade the prelates to pass by land through the territories occupied by his forces; he offered them safe conduct. The answer was that they could have no faith in one under excommunication. They embarked on board the hostile galleys of Genoa. But Frederick had prepared a powerful fleet in Sicily and Apulia, under the command of his son Enzio. Pisa joined him with all her galleys. The Genoese Admiral, who had the ill-omened name Ubbriaco, the Drunkard, was too proud or too negligent to avoid the hostile armament. They met off the island of Meloria; the heavily-laden Genoese vessels were worsted after a short contest; three galleys were sunk, twenty-two taken, with four thousand Genoese.[i] Some of the prelates perished in the sunken galleys; among the prisoners were three Cardinals, the Archbishops of Rouen, Bordeaux, Auch, and Besançon; the Bishops of Carcassonne, Agde, Nismes, Tortona, Asti, Pavia, the Abbots of Clairvaux, Citeaux, and Clugny; and the delegates from

May 3, 1241.

[h] The Pope expressed great anger against the Cardinal Gregory of Monte Longo, for not having provided a fleet of overwhelming force. See his consolatory letter to the captive bishops, Raynald. p. 273.

[i] The battle was not likely to be fought without fury. The Genoese boasted to the Pope that they had taken three galleys before the battle began, beheaded all the men, and sunk the ships. They then complain of the barbarity of Frederick's sailors, not only to the innocent prelates, but to their conductors.

the Lombard cities, Milan, Brescia, Piacenza, Genoa.[k] The vast wealth which the Cardinal Otho had heaped up in England was the prize of the conqueror. The Prelates, already half dead with sea-sickness and fright, no doubt with very narrow accommodation, crowded together in the heat and closeness of the holds of narrow vessels, exposed to the insults of the rude seamen, and the lawless Ghibelline soldiery, had to finish their voyage to Naples, where they were treated with greater or less hardship, according as they had provoked the animosity of the Emperor. But all were kept in rigid custody.[m] Letters from Louis of France, almost rising to menace, and afterwards an embassy, at the head of which was the Abbot of Clugny (who himself was released before), demanded, and obtained at length the liberation of the French prelates; but the cardinals still languished in prison till the death of Gregory.

Faenza and Benevento had withstood the Imperial arms throughout the winter. Faenza had now fallen; the inhabitants had been treated with unwonted clemency by Frederick. Benevento too had fallen. The Papal malediction might seem to have hovered in vain over the head of Frederick; Heaven ratified not the decree of its Vicar on earth. On one side the victorious troops of Frederick, on the other those of John of Colonna, were wasting the Papal dominions; the toils were gathering around the lair of the imprisoned Pope. At that time arrived the terrible tidings of the progress made by the Mongols in Eastern Europe: already the appalling rumours of their conquests in Poland, Moravia, Hungary, had reached Italy. The Papal party were loud in their wonder that the Emperor did not at once break off his war against the Pope, and hasten to the relief of Christendom. So blind was their animosity that he was actually accused of secret dealings with the Mongols; the wicked Emperor had brought the desolating hordes of Zengis-Khan upon Christian Europe.[n] But Frederick would

April, 1241. Faenza, April 14.

[k] The Archbishops of St. James (of Compostella), of Arles, of Tarragona, of Braga, the Bishops of Placentia, Salamanca, Orense, Astorga, got back safe to Genoa.—Epist. Laurent. apud Raynald. p. 270.

[m] Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1241.

[n] Matth. Paris, sub ann.

not abandon what now appeared a certain, an immediate triumph.

Even this awful news seemed as unheard in the camp of the Emperor, and in the city where the unsubdued Pope, disdaining any offer of capitulation, defied the terrors of capture and of imprisonment; he was near one hundred years old, but his dauntless spirit dictated these words: "Permit not yourselves, ye faithful, to be cast down by the unfavourable appearances of the present moment; be neither depressed by calamity nor elated by prosperity. The bark of Peter is for a time tossed by tempests, and dashed against breakers; but soon it emerges unexpectedly from the foaming billows, and sails in uninjured majesty over the glassy surface." ° The Emperor was at Fano, at Narni, at Reate, at Tivoli: Palestrina submitted to John of Colonna. Even then the Pope named Matteo Rosso Senator of Rome in place of the traitor Colonna. Matteo Rosso made a sally from Rome, and threw a garrison into Lagosta. The fires of the marauders might be seen from the walls of Rome; the castle of Monte-
July. forte, built by Gregory from the contributions of the Crusaders and of his own kindred, as a stronghold in which the person of the Pope might be secure from danger, fell into the hands of the conqueror; but still no sign of surrender; still nothing but harsh defiance. The Pope was released by death from this degradation. His death
August 21. has been attributed to vexation; but extreme age, with the hot and unwholesome air of Rome in August, might well break the stubborn frame of Gregory at that advanced time of life. Frederick, in a circular letter addressed o the Sovereigns of Europe, informed them of the event. "The Pope Gregory IX. is taken away from this world, and has escaped the vengeance of the Emperor, of whom he was the implacable enemy. He is dead, through whom peace was banished from the earth, and discord prospered. For his death, though so deeply injured and implacably persecuted, we feel compassion; that compassion had been more profound if he had lived to establish peace between

° See letter to the Venetians, Lombards, and Bolognese.—Apud Raynald. p. 271.

the Empire and the Papacy. God, we trust, will raise up a Pope of more pacific temper; whom we are prepared to defend as a devout son, if he follow not the fatal crime and animosity of his predecessor. In these times we more earnestly desire peace, when the Catholic Church and the Empire are alike threatened by the invasion of the Tartars; against their pride it becomes us, the monarchs of Europe, to take up arms."[p] Frederick acted up to this great part of delivering Christendom from the yoke of these terrible savages. Immediately on the death of Gregory he detached King Enzio with four thousand knights, to aid the army of his son Conrad, King of the Romans. The Mongols were totally defeated near the Delphos, a stream which flows into the Danube; to the house of Hohenstaufen Europe and civilisation and Christendom owed this great deliverance.

Frederick suspended the progress of his victorious arms in the Roman territory that the Cardinals might proceed to the election of a new Pope. There were but six Cardinals in Rome; Frederick consented to their supplication that the two imprisoned Cardinals, James and Otho, giving hostages for their return to captivity, should join the conclave. There were fierce dissensions among these eight churchmen; five were for Godfrey of Milan, favoured by the Emperor, three for Romanus. One died, not without suspicion of poison; the Cardinal Otho returned to his captivity; the Emperor, delighted with his honourable conduct, treated him with respectful lenity.[q] In September, the choice to which the Cardinals were compelled by famine, sickness and violence, fell on Godfrey of Milan, a prelate of gentle character and profound learning; in October Cœlestine IV. was dead. The few remaining cardinals left Rome and fled to Anagni.

Sept. 23.

Oct. 6, 1241.

For nearly two years the Papal throne was vacant. The King of England remonstrated with the Emperor, on whom all seemed disposed to throw the blame; the ambassadors returned to England, if not convinced of the injustice, abashed by the lofty tone of Frederick. The

[p] Peter de Vin. i. 11.

[q] Raynald. p. 277.

King of France sent a more singular menace. He signified his determination, by some right which he asserted to belong to the Church of France, through St. Denys, himself to proceed to the election of a Pope. Frederick became convinced of the necessity of such election; none but a Pope could repeal the excommunication of a Pope. In addresses, which rose above each other in vehemence, he reproached the cardinals for their dissensions. "Sons of Belial! animals without heads! sons of Ephraim who basely turned back in the day of battle! Not Jesus Christ the author of Peace, but Satan the Prince of the North, sits in the midst of their conclave, inflaming their discords, their mutual jealousies. The smallest creatures might read them a salutary lesson; birds fly not without a leader; bees live not without a King. They abandon the bark of the Church to the waves, without a pilot."[r] In the mean time, he used more effective arguments; he advanced on Rome, seized and ravaged the estates, even the churches, belonging to the Cardinals. At length they met at Anagni, and in an evil hour for Frederick the turbulent conclave closed its labours. The choice fell on a cardinal once connected with the interests, and supposed to be attached to the person of Frederick, Sinibald Fiesco, of the Genoese house of Lavagna. He took the name of Innocent IV., an omen and a menace that he would tread in the footsteps of Innocent III. Frederick was congratulated on the accession of his declared partisan; he answered coldly, and in a prophetic spirit: "In the Cardinal I have lost my best friend; in the Pope I shall find my worst enemy. No Pope can be a Ghibelline."

July, 1242.

June, 1243.

[r] Pet. de Vin. xiv. 17.

CHAPTER XV.

FREDERICK AND INNOCENT IV.

YET Frederick received the tidings of the accession of Innocent IV. with all outward appearance of joy. He was at Amalfi; he ordered Te Deum to be sung in all the churches: he despatched the highest persons of his realm, the Archbishop of Palermo, the Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, Thaddeus of Suessa, and the Admiral Ansaldo, to bear his congratulations to the Pope. "An ancient friend of the noble sons of the Empire, you are raised into a Father, by whom the Empire may hope that her earnest prayers for peace and justice may be fulfilled." June 26.

Innocent could not reject these pacific overtures; he sent as his ambassadors to Frederick at Amalfi, the Archbishop of Rouen, William formerly Bishop of Modena, and the Abbot of St. Facundus. They were to demand first the release of all the captive prelates and ecclesiastics; to inquire what satisfaction the Emperor was disposed to offer for the crimes, on account of which he lay under excommunication; if the Church (this could scarcely be thought) had done him any wrong, she was prepared to redress such wrong; they were to propose a General Council of temporal and spiritual persons, Kings, Princes, and Prelates. All the adherents of the Church were to be included in the peace. Frederick demanded the withdrawal of the Papal Legate, Gregory di Monte Longo, from Lombardy; he demanded the release of Salinguerra, the Lord of Ferrara; he complained that honour was shown to the Archbishop of Mentz, who was under the ban of the Empire (he had been appointed Papal Legate in Germany); that the Pope took no steps to suppress heresy among the Lombards; that the Imperial ambassadors were not admitted to the presence of the Offers of peace. Aug. 26.

Pope. It was answered by Innocent, that the Pope had full right to send his Legates into every part of Christendom; Salinguerra was the prisoner of the Venetians, not of the Pope; the Archbishop of Mentz was a prelate of the highest character, one whom the Pope delighted to honour; the war waged by the Emperor prevented the Church from extirpating the Lombard heretics; it was not the usage of Rome to admit persons under excommunication to the holy presence of the Pope.

Frederick's power.

Frederick might seem now at the summit of his power and glory; his fame was untarnished by any humiliating discomfiture; Italy unable to cope with his victorious armies: the Milanese had suffered a severe check in the territory of Pavia: King Enzio had displayed his great military talents with success: the Papal territories were either in his occupation, or with Rome itself was seemingly capable of no vigorous resistance: his hereditary dominions were attached to him by affection, the Empire by respect and awe. He might think that he had full right to demand, full power to enforce, in the first place, the repeal of his excommunication. But the star of the Hohenstaufen had reached its height; it began to decline, to darken; its fall was almost as rapid and precipitate as its rise had been slow and stately.

Defection of Viterbo.

The first inauspicious sign was the defection of Viterbo. The Cardinal Rainier, at the head of the Guelfic party, drove Frederick's garrison into the citadel, destroyed the houses of the Ghibellines, and gathered all the troops which he could to defend the city. Frederick was so enraged at this revolt, that he declared, if he had one foot in Paradise, he would turn back to avenge himself on the treacherous Viterbans. He immediately, unwarned by perpetual failures, formed the siege. The defence was stubborn, obstinate, successful; his engines were burned, he was compelled to retire, stipulating only for the safe retreat of his garrison from the citadel. Notwithstanding the efforts of Cardinal Otho of Palestrina, who had guaranteed the treaty, the garrison was assailed, plundered, massacred. To the re-

Sept. 9 to Nov. 13.

[a] Von Raumer, iv. 67.

monstrance of Frederick, the Pope, who was still under a kind of truce with the Emperor, coldly answered, that he ought not to be surprised if a city returned to its allegiance to its rightful Lord. The fatal example of the revolt of Viterbo spread in many quarters: the Marquises of Montferrat and Malespina, the cities of Vercelli and Alexandria deserted the Imperial party. Even Adelasia, the wife of King Enzio, sought to be reconciled with the Holy See. Innocent himself ventured to leave Anagni, and to enter Rome; the Imperialists were awed at his presence; his reception, as usual, especially with newly crowned Popes, was tumultuously joyful. The only sullen murmurs, which soon after almost broke out into open discontent, were among the wealthy, it was said mostly the Jews, who demanded the payment of 40,000 marks, borrowed in his distress by Gregory IX. Innocent had authority enough to wrest from the Frangipanis half of the Colosseum, and parts of the adjacent palace, where they no doubt hoped to raise a strong fortress in the Imperial interest. Nov. 15.

The Emperor again inclined to peace, at least to negotiations for peace. The Count of Toulouse, the Chancellor Peter de Vineâ, and Thaddeus of Suessa, appeared in Rome with full powers to conclude, and even to swear and guarantee the fulfilment of a treaty. The terms were hard and humiliating; the Emperor was to restore all the lands possessed by the Pope and the Pope's adherents at the time of the excommunication; the Emperor was to proclaim to all the sovereigns of Christendom that he had not scorned the Papal censure out of contempt for the Pope's predecessor, or the rights of the Church; but, by the advice of the prelates and nobles of Germany and Italy, treated it as not uttered, since it had not been formally served upon him; he owned his error on this point, and acknowledged the plenitude of the Papal authority in spiritual matters. For this offence he was to make such compensation in men or money as the Pope might require; offer such alms and observe such fasts as the Pope should appoint; and respect the excommunication until absolved by the Pope's command. Treaty. March 31, 1244.

He was to release all the captive Prelates, and compensate them for their losses. These losses and all other damages were to be left to the estimation of three Cardinals. Full amnesty was to be granted, the imperial ban revoked against all who had adhered to the Church since the excommunication. This was to be applied, as far as such offences, to all who were in a state of rebellion against the Emperor. The differences between the Emperor and his revolted subjects were to be settled by the Pope and the College of Cardinals within a limited time to be fixed by the Pope. But there was a saving clause, which appeared to extend over the whole treaty, of the full undiminished rights of the Empire.[b] The Emperor was to be released from the excommunication by a public decree of the Church. To these and the other articles the imperial ambassadors swore in the presence of the Emperor Baldwin of Constantinople, the Cardinals, the Senators, and people of Rome. The Emperor did not disclaim the terms proposed by his ambassadors; but in the treaty there were some fatal flaws, which parties each so mistrustful, and justly mistrustful, of the other, could not but discern, and which rendered the fulfilment of the treaty almost impossible. Was the Emperor to abandon all his advantages, to release all his prisoners (one of the stipulations), surrender all the fortresses he held in the Papal dominions, grant amnesty to all rebels, fulfil in short all these hard conditions at once, and so leave himself at the mercy of the Pope: then and not till then, not till the Pope had exacted the scrupulous discharge of every article, was he to receive his tardy absolution? Nor was the affair of the Lombards clearly defined. Innocent (perhaps the Emperor knew this) had from the first declared that he would not abandon their cause. Was the Emperor to be humiliated before the Lombards as he had been before the Pope, first to make every concession, with the remote hope of regaining his imperial rights by the

March 31, 1244.

[b] "Jurabit præcise stare mandatis domini Papæ: salva tamen sint ei honores et jura quoad conservationem integram sine aliqua diminutione Imperii et honorum suorum."—If these undefined rights were to be respected, the Pope's decisions concerning the Lombards were still liable to be called in question.

Papal arbitration?[c] According to the Papal account, Frederick began to shrink back from the treaty to which he had sworn; the Pope was fully prepared on his part for the last extremity.[d] He left Rome, where his motions had perhaps been watched; he advanced to Civita Castellana under the pretext of approaching the Emperor. The bickerings, however, still continued; the Emperor complained that all the secret terms agreed on with the Pope were publicly sold for six pennies in the Lateran; the Pope demanded 400,000 marks as satisfaction for the imprisonment of the Prelates. The Lombard affairs were still in dispute. The Pope having seemingly made some slight concession, proceeded still further to Sutri. There at midnight he suddenly rose, stole out of the town in disguise, mounted a powerful horse, like the proud Sinibald the Genoese noble, he pressed its reeking flanks, so as to escape a troop of 300 cavalry which the Emperor—to whom perhaps his design had been betrayed—sent to intercept him, outrode all his followers, and reached Civita Vecchia, where the Genoese fleet of twenty-three well-armed galleys, which had been long prepared for his flight (so little did Innocent calculate on a lasting treaty) was in the roads.[e] He was in an instant on board one of the galleys. The next morning, before the anchor was weighed, arrived five cardinals, who had been outstripped by the more active Pope. Seven others made their way to the north of Italy. The Pope's galleys set sail, a terrible storm came on, which threatened to cast them on an island which belonged to Pisa. After seven days they entered

Flight of the Pope.

June 28.

June 29.

July 7.

[c] "Si latenti morbo, videlicet de negotio Lombardorum, medicina non esset opposita, pax omnino procedere non valebat."—Cod. Epist. Vatic. MS., quoted by Von Raumer.

[d] See Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1244. "Imperator, illo instigante, qui primus superbivit, a forma jurata et humilitate satisfactionis compromissé superbiendo penitens infeliciter resiluit." Of course, the biographers of Pope Innocent are loud on the deceit and treachery of Frederick (Vit. Innocent IV.). But if Innocent resolutely refused (and this seems clear) to revoke the excommunication until Frederick had absolutely fulfilled all the stipulations, the charge of duplicity must be at least equally shared. In truth, if Frederick was not too religiously faithful to his oaths, the Pope openly asserted his power of annulling all oaths.

[e] It was given out that he fled to avoid being captured by those 300 Tuscan horse, who were sent to seize him. But the flight must have been prearranged with the Genoese fleet.

the haven of Genoa. The Genoese had heard of the arrival of their illustrious fellow-citizen at Porto Venere. They received him with a grand procession of the nobles with the Podestà, the clergy with the Archbishop at their head. The bells clanged, music played, the priests chanted "Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord." The Pope's followers replied, "Our soul is escaped, even as a bird out of the snare of the fowler: the snare is broken, and we are delivered."[f]

The Emperor was furious at this intelligence; he too had his scriptural phrase—"The wicked flees when no man pursueth." He complained bitterly of the negligent watch kept up by his armies and his fleets. He sent the Count of Toulouse to invite, to press the Pope to return, and to promise the fulfilment of all the conditions of the truce. Innocent replied that after such flagrant violations of faith, he would not expose himself or the Church to the imminent perils escaped with such difficulty. Frederick, in an address to Mantua, denounced the flight of the Pope as a faithless revolt to the insurgents against the Empire, as though he supposed that Innocent at Genoa, where he remained three months, would place himself at the head of his Lombard League.

But he was not safe in Genoa. The Emperor was in Pisa.
July 7. Through the revolted cities of Asti and Alexandria, by secret ways Innocent crossed the Alps, and on the 2nd of December arrived at Lyons, to a certain degree under the protection, not absolutely under the power of France.

The Pope at Lyons became an independent potentate. Lyons was not yet within the realm of France. It belonged in name to the Roman Empire; but it was almost a free city, owning no authority but that of the Archbishop. It was proud to become the residence of the Supreme Pontiff.

His reception in France was somewhat more cool
August. Innocent in France. than his hopes might have anticipated from the renowned piety of Queen Blanche and her son Saint Louis. The King with his mother visited the monastery of Citeaux; as they approached the church they

[f] Psalm cxxiv. 7.

were met by a long procession of five hundred monks from the convent of that saintly Order, entreating the King with tears and groans to aid the Holy Father of the Faithful against that son of Satan his persecutor, as his ancestor Louis VII. had received Pope Alexander. The first emotion of the King was to kneel in the profoundest reverence. But his more deliberate reply was, that he was prepared to protect the Pope against the Emperor so far as might seem fit to the nobles, his counsellors. The counsellors of Louis refused at once to grant permission that so dangerous and costly a guest should take up his residence in Rheims. The King of Arragon repelled the advances of the Pope. We shall hereafter see the conduct of Henry and the Barons of England. Innocent remained at Lyons; though thus partially baffled, he lost no time in striking at his foe. He summoned all kings, princes, and prelates to a Council on St. John the Baptist's day, upon the weighty affairs of Christendom; he cited Frederick to appear in person, or by his representatives, to hear the charges on which he might be arraigned, and to give the satisfaction which might be demanded. In the mean time meditating a still heavier penalty, and without awaiting the decree of the Council, he renewed the excommunication, and commanded it to be published again throughout Christendom. In France, Spain, and England many of the clergy obeyed, but a priest in Paris seems to have created a strong impression on men's wavering minds. "The Emperor and the Pope mutually condemn each other; that one then of the two who is guilty I excommunicate, that one who is guiltless I absolve."[8] But even in Lyons the haughty demeanour, the immoderate pretensions, and the insatiable rapacity of Innocent IV. almost endangered his safety; it is the greatest proof of the deep-rooted strength of the Papal power, that with a sullen discontent throughout Christendom, with a stern impatience of the intolerable burthens imposed on the Church as well as on the laity, with open menaces of revolt, it still proceeded and successfully proceeded to the most enormous act of authority,

Dec. 27, 1244.

A.D. 1245.

[8] Matt. Paris. Fleury, lxxxix. c. 17.

the deposition of the Emperor in what claimed to be a full Council of the Church.

In the short period, since the Pontificate of Innocent III., a great but silent change had taken place in the Papacy. Innocent III. was a mighty feudal monarch at the head of a loyal spiritual aristocracy: the whole clergy rose, with their head, in power; they took pride in the exaltation of the Pope; the Pope not merely respected but elevated the dignity of the bishops and abbots; each in his sphere displayed his pomp, exercised his power, enjoyed his wealth, and willingly laid his unforced, unextorted benevolences at the foot of the Papal throne. But already the Pope had begun to be—Innocent IV. aspired fully to become—an absolute monarch with an immense standing army, which enabled him to depress, to humiliate, to tax at his pleasure the higher feudatories of the spiritual realm; that standing army was the two new Orders, not more servilely attached to the Pope than encroaching on the privileges as well as on the duties of the clergy. The elevation of an Italian noble to the Papacy already gave signs of that growing nepotism which at last sunk the Head of Christendom in the Italian sovereign.[h] Throughout the contest Pope Innocent blended with the inflexible haughtiness of the Churchman[i] the inexorable passionate hatred of a Guelfic Burgher towards a rival Ghibelline, the hereditary foe of his house, of the Sinibaldi of Genoa. There had been rumours at least that Gregory IX. resented the scornful rejection of his niece as a fit bride for a natural son of the Emperor. It was now declared that Frederick had offered to wed his son Conrad to a niece of Sinibald Fiesco, the Pope Innocent IV. That scheme of Papal ambition was afterwards renewed. Among the English clergy the encroachments of the Pope, especially in two ways, the direct taxation and usurpation of benefices for strangers, had kindled such violent resentment, alike among the Barons and the Prelates, as almost

[h] Nic. de Curbio, in Vit. Innocent IV.

[i] Innocent held high views of the omnipotence of the Papacy:—"Cum teneat omnium credulitas pia fidelium quod apostolicæ sedis auctoritas in ecclesiis universis liberam habeat a Dei providentia potestatem; nec arbitrio principum stare cogitur, ut eorum in electionem vel postulationem negotiis requirat assensum."—Ad Regem Henric. MS. B. M. v. 19. Lateran, Feb. 1244.

to threaten that the realm would altogether throw off the Papal yoke. It was tauntingly said that England was the Pope's farm. At this time the collector of the Papal revenues, Master Martin, was driven ignominiously, and in peril of his life, from the shores of the kingdom. Martin had taken up his residence in the house of the Templars in London. Fulk Fitzwarenne suddenly appeared before him, and, with a stern look, said, "Arise—get thee forth! Depart at once from England!" "In whose name speakest thou?" "In the name of the Barons of England assembled at Luton and at Dunstable. If you are not gone in three days, you and yours will be cut in pieces." Martin sought the King: "Is this done by your command, or by the insolence of your subjects?" "It is not by my command; but my Barons will no longer endure your depredations and iniquities. They will rise in insurrection, and I have no power to save you from being torn in pieces." The trembling priest implored a safe-conduct. "The devil take thee away to hell," said the indignant King, ashamed of his own impotence. One of the King's officers with difficulty conveyed Martin to the coast; but he left others behind to insist on the Papal demands. Yet so great was the terror, that many of the Italians, who had been forced (this was the second grievance) into the richest benefices of England, were glad to conceal themselves from the popular fury. The Pope, it is said, gnashed his teeth at the report of Martin of his insulting expulsion from England. Innocent, once beyond the Alps, had expected a welcome reception from all the great monarchs except his deadly foe. But to the King of England the Cardinal had made artful suggestions of the honour and benefit which his presence might confer on the realm. "What an immortal glory for your reign, if (unexampled honour!) the Father of Fathers should personally appear in England! He has often said that it would give him great pleasure to see the pleasant city of Westminster, and wealthy London." The King's Council, if not the King, returned the ungracious answer, "We have already suffered too much from the usuries and simonies of Rome; we do not want the Pope to pillage

us."[k] More than this, Innocent must listen in patience, with suppressed indignation, to the "grievances" against which the Nobles and whole realm of England solemnly protested by their proctors: the subsidies exacted beyond the Peter's-pence, granted by the generosity of England; the usurpation of benefices by Italians, of whom there was an infinite number; the insolence and rapacity of the Nuncio Martin.[l]

The King of France, as has been seen, and the King of Arragon courteously declined this costly and dangerous visit of the fugitive Pope. The Pope, it was reported, was deeply offended at this stately and cautious reserve; on this occasion he betrayed the violence of his temper: "We must first crush or pacify the great dragon, and then we shall easily trample these small basilisks under foot." Such at least were the rumours spread abroad, and believed by all who were disposed to assert the dignity of the temporal power, or who groaned under the heavy burthens of the Church. Even Lyons had become, through the Pope's ill-timed favouritism, hardly a safe refuge. He had endeavoured to force some of his Italian followers into the Chapter of Lyons, the Canons swore in the face of the Pope that if they appeared, neither the Archbishop nor the Canons themselves could prevent their being cast into the Rhone. Some indeed of the French prelates and abbots (their enemies accused them of seeking preferment and promotion by their adulatory homage) hastened to show their devout attachment to the Pope, their sympathy for his perils and sufferings, and their compassion for the destitution of which he loudly complained. The Prior of Clugny astonished even the Pope's followers by the amount of his gifts in money. Besides these he gave eighty palfreys splendidly caparisoned to the Pope, one to each of the twelve Cardinals. The Pope appointed the Abbot to the office, no doubt not thought unseemly, of his Master of the Horse: he received soon after the more appropriate reward, the Bishopric of Langres.

Church of Lyons.

[k] Matth. Paris, however in some respects not an absolutely trustworthy authority for events which happened out of England, is the best unquestionably for the rumours and impressions prevalent in Christendom — rumours, which as rumours, and showing the state of the public mind, are not to be disdained by history.

[l] Matth. Paris, 1245.

The Cistercian Abbot would not be outdone by his rival of Clugny. The Archbishop of Rouen for the same purpose loaded his see with debts: he became Cardinal Bishop of Albano. The Abbot of St. Denys, who aspired to and attained the vacant Archbishopric, extorted many thousand livres from his see, which he presented to the Pope. But the King of France, the special patron of the church of St. Denys, forced the Abbot to regorge his exactions, and to beg them in other quarters. Yet with all these forced benevolences and lavish offerings it was bruited abroad that the Church of Rome had a capital debt, not including interest, of 150,000*l.*

The Council met at Lyons, in the convent of St. Just, on the Nativity of St. John the Baptist. Around the Pope appeared his twelve Cardinals, two Patriarchs, the Latin of Constantinople who claimed likewise to be Patriarch of Antioch, and declared that the heretical Greeks had reduced by their conquests his suffragans from thirty to three, and the Patriarch of Aquileia who represented the church of Venice; the Emperor of Constantinople, the Count of Toulouse, Roger Bigod and other ambassadors of England who had their own object at the Council, the redress of their grievances from Papal exactions, and the canonisation of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury. Only one hundred and forty prelates represented the whole of Christendom, of whom but very few were Germans. The Council and the person of the Pope were under the protection of Philip of Savoy at the head of a strong body of men-at-arms, of Knights of the Temple, and of the Hospital. Philip, brother of the Count of Savoy, was in his character a chief of Condottieri, in his profession an ecclesiastic; he enjoyed vast riches from spiritual benefices, was high in the confidence of the Pope. Aymeri Archbishop of Lyons, a pious and gentle prelate, beheld with deep sorrow the Pope as it were trampling upon him in his own diocese, despoiling his see, as he was laying intolerable burthens on the whole church of Christ. He resigned his see and retired into a convent. Philip of Savoy, yet but in deacon's orders, was advanced to the metropolitan dignity; he was at once Archbishop of

Council of Lyons. June 26.

Lyons, Bishop of Valence, Provost of Bruges, Dean of Vienne. Of these benefices he drained with remorseless rapacity all the rich revenues, and remained at the head of the Papal forces. And this was the act of a Pope who convulsed the world with his assertion of ecclesiastical immunities, of the sacrilegious intrusion of secular princes into the affairs of the Church. During four pontificates Philip of Savoy enjoyed the title, and spent the revenues of the Archbishopric of Lyons. At length Clement IV. insisted on his ordination and on his consecration. Philip of Savoy threw off, under this compulsion, the dress (he had never even pretended to the decencies) of a bishop, married first the heiress of Franche Comté, and afterwards a niece of Pope Innocent IV., and died Duke of Savoy. And the brother of Philip and of Amadeus Duke of Savoy, Boniface, was Primate of England.[m]

This then was the Council which was to depose the Emperor, and award the Empire. Even before the opening of the Council the intrepid, learned, and eloquent jurisconsult Thaddeus of Suessa, the principal proctor of the Emperor,[n] advanced and made great offers in the name of his master: to compel the Eastern Empire to enter into the unity of the Church; to raise a vast army and to take the field in person against the Tartars, the Charismians, and the Saracens, the foes which threatened the life of Christendom; at his own cost, and in his own person, to re-establish the kingdom of Jerusalem; to restore all her territories to the See of Rome; to give satisfaction for all injuries. "Fine words and specious promises!" replied the Pope. "The axe is at the root of the tree, and he would avert it. If we were weak enough to believe this deceiver, who would guarantee his truth?" "The Kings of France and England," answered Thaddeus. "And if he violated the treaty, as he assuredly would, we should have instead of one, the three greatest monarchs of Christendom for our enemies." At the next session the Pope in full attire mounted the pulpit; this was his text: "See, ye who pass this way, was

[m] Gallia Christiana, iv. 144. M. Paris, sub ann. 1251.

[n] Sismondi says that Peter de Vineâ was one of the Emperor's representatives; that his silence raised suspicion of his treason. Was he there? The whole defence seems to have been entrusted to Thaddeus.

ever sorrow like unto my sorrow." He compared his five afflictions to the five wounds of the Lord: the desolations of the Mongols; the revolt of the Greek Church; the progress of heresy, especially that of the Paterins in Lombardy; the capture and destruction of Jerusalem and the devastation of the Holy Land by the Charismians; the persecutions of the Emperor. He wept himself; the tears of others interrupted his discourse. On this last head he enlarged with bitter eloquence; he accused the Emperor of heresy and sacrilege, of having built a great and strong city and peopled it with Saracens, of joining in their superstitious rites; of his close alliance with the Sultan of Egypt; of his voluptuous life, and shameless intercourse with Saracen courtesans; of his unnumbered perjuries, his violation of treaties: he produced a vast number of letters, sealed with the imperial seal, as irrefragable proofs of these perjuries.

Thaddeus of Suessa rose with calm dauntlessness. He too had letters with the Papal seal, damning proofs of the Pope's insincerity. The assembly professed to examine these conflicting documents; they came to the singular conclusion that all the Pope's letters, and all his offers of peace were conditional; those of the Emperor all absolute. But Thaddeus was not to be overawed; he alleged the clashing and contradictory letters of the Pope which justified his master in not observing his promises. On no point did the bold advocate hesitate to defend his sovereign; he ventured to make reprisals. "My lord and master is arraigned of heresy; for this no one can answer but himself; he must be present to declare his creed: who shall presume to read the secrets of his heart? But there is one strong argument that he is not guilty of heresy; (he fixed his eyes on the prelates,) "he endures no usurer in his dominions." The audience knew his meaning—that was the heresy with which the whole world charged the Court of Rome. The orator justified the treaties of the Emperor with the Saracens as entered into for the good of Christendom; he denied all criminal intercourse with Saracen women; he had permitted them in his presence as jongleurs and dancers, but on account

Thaddeus of Suessa.

June 26.

of the offence taken against them he had banished them for ever from his court." Thaddeus ended by demanding delay, that the Emperor his master might appear in person before the Council. The Pope shrunk from this proposal, "I have hardly escaped his snares. If he comes hither I must withdraw. I have no desire for martyrdom or for captivity." But the ambassadors of France and England insisted on the justice of the demand; Innocent was forced to consent to an adjournment of fourteen days. The Pontiff was relieved of his fears. Frederick had advanced as far as Turin. But the hostile character of the assembly would not allow of his appearance. "I see that the Pope has sworn my ruin; he would revenge himself for my victory over his relatives, the pirates of Genoa. It becomes not the Emperor to appear before an assembly constituted of such persons." On the next meeting this determination encouraged the foes of Frederick. New accusers arose to multiply charges against the absent sovereign: many voices broke out against the contumacious rebel against the Church. But Thaddeus, though almost alone, having stood unabashed against the Pope, was not to be silenced by this clamour of accusations. The Bishop of Catana° was among the loudest, he charged Frederick with treason against the Church for his imprisonment of the Prelates, and with other heinous crimes. "I can no longer keep silence," broke in Thaddeus, "thou son of a traitor, who was convicted and hanged by the justiciary of my Lord, you are but following the example of your father." Thaddeus took up the desperate defence, before such an assembly, of the seizure of the Prelates. The Pope again mingled in the fray; but Thaddeus assumed a lofty tone. "God delivered them into the hands of my master; God took away the strength of the rebel, and showed by this abandonment that their imprisonment was just." "If," replied the Pope, "the Emperor had not mistrusted his own cause, he would not have declined the judgement of such holy and righteous men: he was condemned by his own guilty conscience." "What could my lord hope from

July.

June 29.

° Carinola in Giannone.

a council in which presided his capital enemy, the Pope Gregory IX., or from judges who even in their prison breathed nothing but menace." "If one has broken out into violence, all should not have been treated with this indignity. Nothing remains but ignominiously to depose a man laden with such manifold offences."

Thaddeus felt that he was losing ground; at the third sitting he had heard that the daughter of the Duke of Austria, whom Frederick proposed to take as his fourth wife (the sister of the King of England had died in childbed) had haughtily refused the hand of an Emperor tainted with excommunication, and in danger of being deposed. The impatient Assembly would hardly hear again this perilous adversary; he entered therefore a solemn appeal: "I appeal from this Council, from which are absent so many great prelates and secular sovereigns, to a general and impartial Council. I appeal from this Pope, the declared enemy of my Lord, to a future, more gentle, more Christian Pope."[p] This appeal the Pope haughtily overruled: "it was fear of the treachery and the cruelty of the Emperor which had kept some prelates away: it was not for him to take advantage of the consequences of his own guilt." The proceedings were interrupted by a long and bitter remonstrance of England against the Papal exactions. The Pope adjourned this question as requiring grave and mature consideration. July 17.

With no further deliberation, without further investigation, with no vote, apparently with no participation of the Council, the Pope proceeded at great length, and rehearsing in the darkest terms all the crimes at any time charged against Frederick, to pronounce his solemn, irrefragable decree:—"The sentence of God must precede our sentence: we declare Frederick excommunicated of God, and deposed from all the dignity of Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples. We add our own sentence to that of God: we excommunicate Frederick, and depose him from all the dignity of the Empire, and from the kingdom of Naples." The Emperor's subjects Sentence of deposition.

[p] Annal. Cæsen. Concil. sub ann.

in both realms were declared absolved from all their oaths and allegiance. All who should aid or abet him were by the act itself involved in the same sentence of excommunication. The Princes of Germany were ordered to proceed at once to the election of a new Emperor. The kingdom of Naples was reserved to be disposed of, as might seem to them most fit, by the Pope and the Cardinals.

The Council at this sentence, at least the greater part, sat panic-stricken; the imperial ambassadors uttered loud groans, beat their heads and their breasts in sorrow. Thaddeus cried aloud, "Oh, day of wrath, of tribulation, and of agony! Now will the heretics rejoice, the Charismians prevail; the foul Mongols pursue their ravages." "I have done my part," said the Pope, "God must do the rest." He began the hymn, "We glorify thee, O God!" His partisans lifted up their voices with him; the hymn ended, there was profound silence. Innocent and the prelates turned down their blazing torches to the ground till they smouldered and went out. "So be the glory and the fortune of the Emperor extinguished upon earth."

Frederick received at Turin the report of his dethronement; he was seated in the midst of a splendid court. "The Pope has deprived me of my crown? Whence this presumption, this audacity? Bring hither my treasure chests." He opened them. "Not one of my crowns but is here." He took out one, placed it on his own head, and with a terrible voice, menacing gesture, and heart bursting with wrath, exclaimed: "I hold my crown of God alone; neither the Pope, the Council, nor the devil shall rend it from me! What! shall the pride of a man of low birth degrade the Emperor, who has no superior nor equal on earth? I am now released from all respect; no longer need I keep any measure against this man."[q]

July 31.

Frederick addressed his justification to all the kings and princes of Christendom, to his own chief officers and justiciaries. He called on all temporal princes to make

[q] Peter de Vineâ, i. 3.

common cause against this common enemy of the temporal power. "What might not all Kings fear from the presumption of a Pope like Innocent IV.?" He inveighed against the injustice of the Pope in all the proceedings of the Council. The Pope was accuser, witness, and judge. He denounced crimes as notorious which the Emperor utterly denied. "How long has the word of an Emperor been so despicable as not to be heard against that of a priest?" "Among the Pope's few witnesses one had his father, son and nephew convicted of high treason. Of the others, some came from Spain to bear witness on the affairs of Italy. The utter falsehood of all the charges was proved by irrefragable documents. But were they all true, how will they justify the monstrous absurdity, that the Emperor, in whom dwells the supreme majesty, can be adjudged guilty of high treason? that he who as the source of law is above all law, should be subject to law? To condemn him to temporal penalties who has but one superior in temporal things, God! We submit ourselves to spiritual penances, not only to the Pope, but to the humblest priest; but, alas! how unlike the clergy of our day to those of the primitive church, who led Apostolic lives, imitating the humility of the Lord! Then were they visited of angels, then shone around by miracles, then did they heal the sick and raise the dead, and subdue princes by their holiness not by arms! Now they are abandoned to this world, and to drunkenness; their religion is choked by their riches. It were a work of charity to relieve them from this noxious wealth; it is the interest of all princes to deprive them of these vain superfluities, to compel them to salutary poverty."[r]

The former arguments were addressed to the pride of France; the latter to England, which had so long groaned under the rapacity of the clergy. But it was a fatal error not to dissever the cause of the Pope from that of the clergy. To all the Emperor declared his steadfast determination to resist with unyielding firmness: "Before this generation and the generations to come I will have the glory of resisting this tyranny; let others who shrink from my

[r] Peter de Vin. lib. i. 3.

support have the disgrace as well as the galling burthen of slavery." The humiliation of Pope Innocent might have been endured even by the most devout sons of the Church; his haughtiness and obstinacy had almost alienated the pious Louis; his rapacity forced the timid Henry of England to resistance. Perhaps the Papacy itself might have been assailed without a general outburst of indignation; but a war against the clergy, a war of sacrilegious spoliation, a war which avowed the necessity, the expediency of reducing them to Apostolic simplicity and Apostolic poverty, was in itself the heresy of heresies. To exasperate this indignation to the utmost, every instance of Frederick's severity, doubtless of his cruelty, to ecclesiastics, was spread abroad with restless activity. He is said to have burned them by a slow fire, drowned them in the sea, dragged them at the tails of horses. No doubt in Apulia and Sicily Frederick kept no terms with the rebellious priests and friars who were preaching the Crusade against him; urging upon his subjects that it was their right, their duty to withdraw their allegiance. But under all circumstances the violation of the hallowed person of a priest was sacrilege: while they denounced him as a Pharaoh, a Herod, a Nero, it was an outrage against law, against religion, against God, to do violence to a hair of their heads. And all these rumours, true or untrue, in their terrible simplicity, or in the gathered blackness of rumour, propagated by hostile tongues, confirmed the notion that Frederick contemplated a revolution, a new æra, which by degrading the Clergy would destroy the Church.[s]

The Pope kept not silence; he was not the man who would not profit to the utmost by this error. He replied to the Imperial manifesto: "When the sick man who has scorned milder remedies is subjected to the knife and the cautery, he complains of the cruelty of the physician: when the evil doer, who has despised all warning, is at length punished, he arraigns his judge. But the physician only looks to the welfare of the sick man, the judge

[s] "De hæresi per id ipsum se reddens suspectum, merito omnem quem hactenus habebat in omnes populos igniculum famæ propriæ et sapientiæ imprudenter et imprudenter extinxit atque delevit."—Mat. Par. p. 459. Höfler quotes Albert of Beham's MS.

regards the crime, not the person of the criminal. The Emperor doubts and denies that all things and all men are subject to the See of Rome. As if we who are to judge angels are not to give sentence on all earthly things. In the Old Testament priests dethroned unworthy kings; how much more is the Vicar of Christ justified in proceeding against him who expelled from the Church as a heretic is already the portion of hell. Ignorant persons aver that Constantine first gave temporal power to the See of Rome; it was already bestowed by Christ himself, the true king and priest, as inalienable from its nature, and absolutely unconditional. Christ founded not only a pontifical but a royal sovereignty, and committed to Peter the rule both of an earthly and a heavenly kingdom, as is indicated and visibly proved by the plurality of the keys.[t] 'The power of the sword is in the Church and derived from the Church;' she gives it to the Emperor at his coronation, that he may use it lawfully and in her defence; she has the right to say, 'Put up thy sword into its sheath.' He strives to awaken the jealousy of other temporal kings, as if the relation of their kingdoms to the Pope were the same as those of the electoral kingdom of Germany and the kingdom of Naples. The latter is a Papal fief; the former inseparable from the Empire, which the Pope transferred as a fief from the East to the West.[u] To the Pope belongs the coronation of the Emperor, who is thereby bound by the consent of ancient and modern times to allegiance and subjection."

War was declared, and neither the Emperor nor the Pope now attempted to disguise their mutual immitigable hatred. Everywhere the Pope called on the subjects of the Emperor to revolt from their deposed and excommunicated monarch. He assumed the power of dispensing with all treaties; he cancelled that of the city of Treviso with the Emperor as extorted by force; thus

[t] "Non solum pontificalem, sed regalem constituit principatum, beato Petro ejusque successoribus terreni simul ac cœlestis imperii commissis habenis, quod in pluralitate clavium competenter innuitur." This passage is quoted by Von Raumer from the Vatican archives, No. 4957, 47, and from the Codex Vindobon. Philol. p. 178. See also Höfler, Albert von Beham.

[u] "In feodum transtulit occidentis."

almost compelling a war of extermination;[x] for if treaties with a conqueror were thus to be cast aside, what opening remained for mercy? In a long and solemn address, he called on the bishops, barons, cities, people of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily to throw off the yoke under which they had so long groaned of the tyrant Frederick. Two Cardinals, Rainier Capoccio and Stephen di Romanis, had full powers to raise troops, and to pursue any hostile measures against the King. The Crusade was publicly preached throughout Italy against the enemy of the Church. The Emperor on his side levied a third from the clergy to relieve them from the tyranny of the Pope. He issued inflexible orders that every clerk or religious person who, in obedience to the command of the Pope or his Legate, should cease to celebrate mass or any other religious function, should be expelled at once from his place and from his city, and despoiled of all his goods, whether his own or those of the Church. He promised his protection and many advantages to all who should adhere to his party; he declared that he would make no peace with the Pope till all those ecclesiastics who might be deposed for his cause should be put in full possession of their orders, their rank, and their benefices.[y] The Mendicant Friars, as they would keep no terms of peace with Frederick, could expect no terms from him; they were seized and driven beyond the borders. The summons of the Pope to the barons of the realm of Sicily to revolt found some few hearers. A dark conspiracy was formed in which were engaged Pandolph of Fasanella, Frederick's vicar in Tuscany, Jacob Morra of the family of the great justiciary, Andrew of Ayala, the Counts San Severino, Theobald Francisco, and other Apulian barons. It was a conspiracy not only against the realm, but against the life of Frederick. On its detection Pandolph of Fasanella and De Morra, the leaders of the plot, fled to and were released by the Pope's Legate. The Cardinal Rainier, Theobald and San Severino seized the castles of Capoccio and of Scala, and stood on their defence. The loyal subjects of Frederick instantly reduced Scala; Capoccio with the

April 26.

[x] Raynald. sub ann.

[y] Peter de Vin. i. 4.

rebels fell soon after. Frederick arraigned the Pope before the world, he declared on the full and voluntary confession of the rebels,[a] as having given his direct sanction not only to the revolt, but to the murder of the Emperor.[a] "This they had acknowledged in confession, this in public on the scaffold. They had received the cross from the hands of some Mendicant Friars; they were acting under the express authority of the See of Rome." Frederick at first proposed to parade the chief criminals with the Papal bull upon their foreheads through all the realms of Christendom as an awful example and a solemn rebuke of the murtherous Pope; he found it more prudent to proceed to immediate execution, an execution with all the horrible cruelty of the times; their eyes were struck out, their hands hewn off, their noses slit, they were then broken on the wheel.[b] The Pope denied in strong terms the charge of meditated assassination; on the other hand, he declared to Christendom that three distinct attempts had been designed against his life, in all which Frederick was the acknowledged accomplice. On both sides probably these accusations were groundless. On one part, no doubt, fanatic Guelfs might think themselves called upon even by the bull of excommunication, which was an act of outlawry, to deliver the Church, the Pope, and the world from a monster of perfidy and iniquity such as Frederick was described in the manifestoes of the Pope. Fanatic Ghibellines might in like manner think that they were doing good service, and would meet ample even if secret reward, should they relieve the Emperor from his deadly foe. They might draw a strong distinction between the rebellious subject of the Empire, and the sacred head of Christendom. July 18.

The Pope pledged himself solemnly to all who would revolt from Frederick never to abandon them to his wrath,

[a] See in Höfler the letter of the Pope to Theobald Francisco, and all the others of the kingdom of Sicily who returned to their loyalty to the Roman See: "God has made his face to shine upon you, by withdrawing your persons from the dominion of Pharaoh. From the soldiers of the reprobate tyrant, you have become champions of our Lord Jesus Christ."—Appendix, p. 372.

[a] "Et prædictæ mortis et exhæreditationis nostræ summum pontificem asserunt authorem."— Peter de Vin. ii. x.

[b] Matth. Paris, sub ann. 1246, 7.

never on any terms to make peace with the perfidious tyrant; "no feigned penitence, no simulated humility shall so deceive us, as that when he is cast down from the height of his imperial and royal dignity he should be restored to his throne." His sentence is absolutely irrevocable! his reprobation is the voice of God by his Church: he is condemned and for ever! His viper progeny are included under this eternal immitigable proscription. Whoever then loves justice should rejoice that vengeance is thus declared against the common enemy, and wash his hands in the blood of the transgressor." So wrote the Vicar of Christ![c]

A.D. 1246. Frederick took measures to relieve himself from the odious imputation of heresy. The Archbishop of Palermo, the Bishop of Pavia, the Abbots of Monte Casino, Cava, and Casanova, the Friar Preachers Roland and Nicolas, men of high repute, appeared before the Pope at Lyons, and declared themselves ready to attest on oath the orthodox belief of the Emperor. Innocent sternly answered, that they deserved punishment for holding conference with an excommunicated person, still severer penalty for treating him as Emperor. They rejoined in humility, "receive us then as only representing a Christian."

The Pope was compelled to appoint a commission of three cardinals. These not only avouched the report of the ambassadors, but averred the Emperor prepared to assert his orthodoxy in the presence of the Pope. Innocent extricated himself with address: he declared the whole proceeding, as unauthorised by himself, hasty, and presumptuous: "If he shall appear unarmed and with but few attendants before us, we will hear him, if it be according to law, according to law."[d] Even the religious Louis of France could not move the rigid Pope. In his own crusading enthusiasm, as strong as that of his ancestors in the days of Urban, Louis urged the Pope to make peace with the Emperor, that the united forces of Christendom might make head in Europe and in Palestine against the

May 23, 1246.

[c] Apud Höfler, p. 383.

[d] "Ipsum super hoc, si de jure, et sicut de jure fuerit audiamus."—Apud Raynald. 1246.

unbelieving enemies of the Cross. He had a long and secret interview with the Pope in the monastery of Clugny. Innocent declared that he could have no dealings with the perfidious Frederick. Louis retired, disgusted at finding such merciless inflexibility in the Vicar of Christ.[e] But not yet had the spell of the great magician begun to work. The conspiracy in the kingdom of Sicily was crushed; Frederick did not think it wise to invade the territories of Rome, where the Cardinal Rainier kept up an active partisan war. But even Viterbo yielded; the Guelfs were compelled to submit by the people clamouring for bread. Prince Theodore of Antioch entered Florence in triumph. The Milanese had suffered discomfiture; Venice had become more amicable. Innocent had not been wanting in attempts to raise up a rival sovereign in Germany to supplant the deposed Emperor. All the greater princes coldly, almost contemptuously, refused to become the instruments of the Papal vengeance: they resented the presumption of the Pope in dethroning an Emperor of Germany.

The Papal Legate, Philip Bishop of Ferrara, in less troubled times would hardly have wrought powerfully on the minds of Churchmen. He was born of poor parents in Pistoia, and raised himself by extraordinary vigour and versatility of mind. He was a dark, melancholy, utterly unscrupulous man, of stern and cruel temper; a great drinker;[f] even during his orisons he had strong wine standing in cold water by his side. His gloomy temperament may have needed this excitement. But the strength of the Papal cause was Albert von Beham.[g] Up to the accession of Innocent IV., if not to the Council of Lyons, the Archbishops of Saltzburg, the Bishops of Freisingen and Ratisbon and Passau, had been the most loyal subjects of Frederick. They had counteracted all

[e] Matt. Paris, 1246.

[f] "Multas crudelitates exercuit. Melancholicus, et tristis et furiosus, et filius Belial. Magnus potator."—Salimbeni, a Papal writer quoted by Von Raumer, p. 212.

[g] Höfler affirms that because Albert von Beham, in one of his furious letters to Otho, calls Frederick the parricide, the murderer of Otho's father, that it is a striking *proof* that Frederick was guilty of that murder.—p. 118. The letter is a remarkable one. Höfler's is one of those melancholy books, showing how undying is religious hatred. Innocent himself might be satisfied with the rancour of his apologist, and his merciless antipathy to Frederick.

the schemes of Albert von Beham, driven him, amid the universal execration for his insolence in excommunicating the highest prelates, and rapacity in his measureless extortions, from Southern Germany. We have heard him bitterly lamenting his poverty. Otho of Bavaria, who when once he embraced the cause of the Hohenstaufen adhered to it with honourable fidelity, had convicted him of gross bribery, and hunted him out of his dominions. Albert now appeared again in all his former activity. He had been ordained priest by the Cardinal Albano; he was nominated Dean of Passau; but the insatiable Albert knew his own value, or rather the price at which the Pope and his cardinals calculated his services: he insisted on receiving back all his other preferments. The Pope and the Cardinals held it as a point of honour to maintain their useful emissary.[h]

Already before the elevation of Innocent, at a meeting at Budweis, a league of Austria, Bohemia, and Bavaria, had proposed the nomination of a new Emperor. Eric King of Denmark had refused it for his son, in words of singular force and dignity. At Budweis Wenceslaus of Bohemia had fallen off to the interests of the Emperor: there were fears among the Papalists, fears speedily realised, of the Imperialism of Otho of Bavaria. A most audacious vision of Poppo, the Provost of Munster, had not succeeded in appalling Otho into fidelity to the Pope. The Queen of Heaven and the Twelve Apostles sent down from Heaven ivory statues of themselves, which contained oracles confirming all the acts of Albert; writings were shown with the Apostolic seals, containing the celestial decree.[i] Albert had threatened, that if the electors refused, the Pope would name a French or Lombard King or Patrician, without regard to the Germans.

Sept. 1241.

The meeting at Budweis so far had failed; but a

[h] He complains that they prevented him from collecting 300 marks of silver, which otherwise he might have obtained. Höfler cannot deny the venality of Albert von Beham, but makes a long apology, absolutely startling in a respectable writer of our own day. The new letters of Albert seem to me more fatal to his character than the partial extracts in Aventinus.

[i] "Quorum decreta cum divinæ mentis decretis examussim conspirantia, ambobus cælestis senatus-consulti in eburneis descripta sigillis, inspiciendi copiam factam." The sense is not quite clear; I doubt my own rendering.

dangerous approximation had even then been made between Sifrid of Mentz, hitherto loyal to Frederick, who had condemned and denounced the rapacious quæstorship of Albert von Beham, and Conrad of Cologne, a high Papalist.[k] This approximation grew up into an Anti-Imperialist League, strengthened as it was, before long, by the courageous demeanour, the flight, the high position taken by Innocent at Lyons; still more by the unwise denunciations against the whole hierarchy by Frederick in his wrath. Now the three great rebellious temporal princes—Otho of Bavaria, the King of Bohemia, the Duke of Austria—are the faithful subjects of Frederick; his loyal prelates, Saltzburg, Freisingen, Ratisbon, are his mortal enemies. Not content with embracing the Papal cause, they endeavoured by the most stirring incitements to revenge for doubtful or mendaciously asserted wrongs, by the dread of excommunication, by brilliant promises, to stir up Otho of Bavaria to assume the Imperial crown. Otho replied, "When I was on the side of the Pope you called him Antichrist; you declared him the source of all evil and all guilt: by your counsels I turned to the Emperor, and now you brand him as the most enormous transgressor. What is just to-day is unjust to-morrow: in scorn of all principle and all truth, you blindly follow your selfish interests. I shall hold to my pledges and my oaths, and not allow myself to be blown about by every changing wind." Otho of Bavaria persisted in his agreement to wed his daughter with Conrad, son of Frederick. Every argument was used to dissuade him from this connection. Three alternatives were laid before him: I. To renounce the marriage of his daughter with Conrad, Frederick's son; if so, the Pope will provide a nobler bridegroom, and reconcile him fully with Henry, elected King of the Romans. II. To let the marriage proceed if Conrad will renounce his father. Albert von Beham was busy in inciting the unnatural revolt of Conrad from his father. III. The third possibility was the restoration of Frederick to the Pope's favour: he must await this; but in the mean time

April 20.

[k] Boehmer, p. 390. See citations.

bear in mind that the victory of the Church is inevitable.[m] The King of Bohemia, the Dukes of Austria, Brabant, and Saxony, the Margraves of Meissen and Brandenburg, repelled with the same contemptuous firmness the tempting offer of the Imperial crown. At last an Emperor was found in Henry Raspe, Landgrave of Thuringia. Henry of Thuringia was a man of courage and ability; but his earlier life did not designate him as the champion of Holy Church.[n] He was the brother-in-law of the sainted Elizabeth of Hungary, now the object of the most passionate religious enthusiasm, sanctioned by the Pope himself. To her, in her desolate widowhood, Henry had shown little of the affection of a brother or the reverence of a worshipper; dark rumours charged him with having poisoned her son, his nephew, to obtain his inheritance. He had been at one time the Lieutenant of the Emperor in Germany. Even Henry at first declined the perilous honour. He yielded at length as to a sacrifice: "I obey, but I shall not live a year."

Innocent issued his mandate,[o] his solemn adjuration to the prelates to elect, with one consent, Henry of Thuringia to the Imperial crown. He employed more powerful arguments: all the vast wealth which he still drew, more especially from England, was devoted to this great end. The sum is variously stated at 25,000 and 50,000 marks, which was spread through Germany by means of letters of exchange from Venice. The greater princes still stood aloof; the prelates espoused, from religious zeal, the Papal champion; among the lower princes and nobles the gold

[m] "Quia si omne aurum haberetis, quod Rex Solomon habuit, ordinationi Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et divinæ potentiæ non poteritis repugnare, quia necesse est ut in omni negotio semper Ecclesia Dei vincat."—p. 120. The marriage took place, Sept. 6, 1246. The rhetorical figures in this address of Albert of Beham, if it came not from the Pope himself, were sufficiently bold: "The Pope would not swerve from his purpose though the stars should fall from their spheres, and rivers be turned into blood. Angels and archangels would in vain attempt to abrogate his determination." "Nec credo angelos aut archangelos sufficere illi articulo, ut eum possint ad vestrum bene placitum inclinare."

[n] The Electors to the Kingdom of Germany were almost all ecclesiastics. The Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Trèves, Bremen; the Bishops of Wurtzburg, Naumbourg, Ratisbon, Strasburg, Henry (Elect) of Spires; Dukes Henry of Brabant, Albert of Saxony; with some Counts.—May 22.

[o] See the very curious letter in Höfler, p. 195, on the determination of the Pope.

of England worked wonders. On Ascension Day the Archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Bremen, the Bishops of Metz, Spires, and Strasburg, anointed Henry of Thuringia as King of Germany at Hochem, near Wurtzburg. His enemies called him in scorn the priest king.[p] The sermons of the prelates and clergy, who preached the Crusade against the godless Frederick, and the money of the Pope, raised a powerful army; King Conrad was worsted in a great battle near Frankfort; two thousand of his own Swabian soldiers passed over to the enemy. But the cities, now rising to wealth and freedom, stood firm to Frederick: they defied, in some cases expelled, their bishops. Henry of Thuringia attempted to besiege first Reutlingen, then Ulm; was totally defeated near that city, fled to his Castle of Wartburg, and died of grief and vexation working on a frame shattered by a fall from his horse.

A.D. 1246. Aug. 5. Feb. 17, 1247.

Frederick was still in the ascendant, the cause of the Pope still without prevailing power. The indefatigable Innocent sought throughout Germany, throughout Europe: he even summoned from the remote and barbarous North Hakim King of Norway to assume the crown of Germany.[q] At last William of Holland, a youth of twenty years of age, under happier auspices, listened to the tempting offers of the Pope; but even Aix-la-Chapelle refused, till after a siege of some length, to admit the Papal Emperor to receive the crown within her walls: he was crowned, however, by the Papal Legate, the Cardinal of St. Sabina.

Oct. 3, 1247.

From this time till Frederick lay dying, four years after, at Fiorentino, some dire fatality seemed to hang over the house of Hohenstaufen. Frederick had advanced to Turin; his design no one knew; all conjectured according to their wishes or their fears. It was rumoured in England that he was at the head of a powerful force, intending to dash down the Alps and seize the Pope at Lyons. The Papalists gave out that he had some dark designs, less violent but more treacherous, to circumvent

[p] Matt. Paris. Chronic. Erphurt. Ann. Argentin, apud Boehmer, Fontes.
[q] Letter to William of Holland.

the Pontiff. Innocent had demanded succour from Louis, who might, with his brothers and the nobles of France, no doubt have been moved by the personal danger of the Pope to take up arms in his cause.[r] Frederick had succeeded, by the surrender of the strong castle of Rivoli to Thomas Duke of Savoy, in removing the obstructions raised by that prince to the passage of the Alps. The Duke of Savoy played a double game: he attacked the Cardinal Octavian, who was despatched by the Pope with a strong chosen body of troops and 15,000 marks to aid the Milanese. The Cardinal reached Lombardy with hardly a man; his whole treasure fell into the hands of the Duke of Savoy. Others declared that Frederick was weary of the war, and had determined on the humblest submission. He himself may have had no fixed and determined object. He declared that he had resolved to proceed to Lyons to bring his cause to issue in the face of the Pope, and before the eyes of all mankind.[s] He was roused from his irresolution by the first of those disasters which went on darkening to his end. The Pope was not only Pope; he had powerful compatriots and kindred among the great Guelfic houses of Italy. This, not his spiritual powers alone, gave the first impulse to the downfall of Frederick. In Parma itself the Rossi, the Correggi, the Lupi, connected with the Genoese family of the Sinibaldi, maintained a secret correspondence with their party within the city. The exiles appeared before Parma with a strong force; the Imperialist Podestâ, Henry Testa of Arezzo, sallied forth, was repulsed and slain; the Guelfs entered the city with the flying troops, became masters of the citadel: Gherardo Correggio was Lord of Parma.

June, 1247.

This was the turning point in the fortunes of Frederick; and Frederick, by the horrible barbarity of his revenge against the revolted Parmesans, might seem smitten with a judicial blindness, and to have laboured to extinguish the generous sympathies of mankind

Turning point in Frederick's fortunes.

[r] Matt. Paris. In the letters to Louis and to his mother Blanch the Pope intimates that they were ready to march an army not only to defend him in Lyons, but to cross the Alps.

[s] Nicolas de Curbio, in Vit. Innoc. IV. "Causæ nostræ justitiam præsentialiter et potenter in adversarii nostri facie, coram transalpinis gentibus posituri."—Petr. de Vin. ii. 49.

in his favour. His wrath against the ungrateful city, which he had endowed with many privileges, knew no bounds. He had made about one thousand prisoners: on one day he executed four, on the next two, before the walls, and declared that such should be the spectacle offered to the rebels every day during the siege. He was with difficulty persuaded to desist from this inhuman warfare. Aug. 2.
Parma became the centre of the war; on its capture depended all the terrors of the Imperial arms, on its relief the cause of the Guelfs. Around Frederick assembled King Enzio, Eccelin di Romano, Frederick of Antioch, Count Lancia, the Marquis Pallavicini, Thaddeus of Suessa, and Peter de Vineâ. On the other hand, the Marquis Boniface threw himself with a squadron of knights into the city. The troops of Mantua, the Marquis of Este, Alberic di Romano, the martial Cardinal Gregory of Monte Longo at the head of the Milanese; the Count of Lavagna, the Pope's nephew, at the head of four hundred and thirty cross-bow men of Genoa and three hundred of his own, hovered on all sides to aid the beleaguered city. Parma endured the storm, the famine: Frederick had almost encircled Parma by his works, and called the strong point of his fortifications by the haughty but ill-omened name of Vittoria. After many months' siege, one fatal night the troops of Parma issued from the city, and surprised the strong line of Feb. 18, 1248.
forts, the Vittoria, which contained all the battering engines, stores, provisions, arms, tents, treasures, of the Imperial forces. So little alarm was at first caused, that Thaddeus of Suessa, who commanded in Vittoria, exclaimed, "What! have the mice left their holes?" In a few moments the whole fortress was in flames, it was a heap of ashes, the Imperial garrison slain or prisoners; two thousand were reckoned as killed, including the Marquis Lancia; three thousand prisoners.[1] Among the inestimable booty in money, jewels, vessels of gold and silver, were the carroccio of Cremona, the Imperial fillet, the great seal, the sceptre and the crown. The crown of gold and jewels was found by a mean man, called in derision "Short-legs." He put the crown on his head, was raised on the shoulders of his comrades, and entered Parma, in mockery of the

[1] Muratori, Annal. sub ann.

Emperor. Among the prisoners was the faithful and eloquent Thaddeus of Suessa. The hatred of his master's enemies was in proportion to his value to his master. Already both his hands were struck off; but in this state, faint with loss of blood, he was hewn in pieces.[u] And yet could Frederick hardly complain of the cruelty of his foes—cruelties shown when the blood was still hot from battle. Only three days before the loss of the Vittoria, Marcellino, Bishop of Arezzo, a dangerous and active partisan of the Pope, who had been taken prisoner, and confined for months in a dungeon, was brought forth to be hanged. His death was a strange wild confusion of the pious prelate and the intrepid Guelf. He was commanded to anathematise the Pope, he broke out into an anathema against the Emperor. He then began to chant the Te Deum, while the furious Saracen soldiers tied him to the tail of a horse, bound his hands, blindfolded his eyes, dragged him to the gibbet, where he hung an awful example to the rebels of Parma. He was hanged, says the indignant Legate of the Pope, "like a villain, a plebeian, a nightman, a parricide, a murderer, a slave-dealer, a midnight robber."[x]

This was but the first of those reverses, which not only obscured the fame, but wrung with bitterest anguish the heart of Frederick. Still his gallant son Enzio made head against all his father's foes: in a skirmish before Bologna Enzio was wounded and taken prisoner. Implacable Bologna condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. All the entreaties to which his father humbled himself; all his own splendid promises that for his ransom he would gird the city with a ring of gold, neither melted nor dazzled the stubborn animosity of the Guelfs; a captive at the age of twenty-four, this youth, of beauty equal to his bravery—the poet, the musician, as well as the most valiant soldier and consummate captain—pined out twenty-three years of life, if not in a squalid dungeon, in miserable

May 26, 1249.

Imprisonment of Enzio.

[u] Compare in Höfler's "Albert von Beham": the curious Latin songs on the defeat of Frederick before Parma. All the monkish bards broke out in gratulant hymns.

[x] Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1249. Letter of Cardinal Rainier. However extravagant this letter, the fact can hardly have been invention.

inactivity. Romance, by no means improbable, has darkened his fate. The passion of Lucia Biadagoli, the most beautiful and high-born maiden of Bologna, for the captive, her attempts to release him, were equally vain: once he had almost escaped, concealed in a cask; a lock of his bright hair betrayed the secret. Nor had Frederick yet exhausted the cup of affliction; the worst was to come: suspected, at least, if unproved treachery in another of his most tried and faithful servants. Thaddeus of Suessa had been severed from him by death, his son by imprisonment, Peter de Vineâ was to be so, by the most galling stroke of all, either foul treason in De Vineâ, or in himself blind, ungrateful injustice. Peter de Vineâ had been raised by the wise choice of Frederick to the highest rank and influence. All the acts of Frederick were attributed to his chancellor.[y] De Vineâ, like his master, was a poet: he was one of the counsellors in his great scheme of legislation. Some rumours spread abroad that at the Council of Lyons, though Frederick had forbidden all his representatives from holding private intercourse with the Pope, De Vineâ had many secret conferences with Innocent, and was accused of betraying his master's interests. Yet there was no seeming diminution in the trust placed in De Vineâ. Still to the end the Emperor's letters concerning the disaster at Parma are by the same hand. Over the cause of his disgrace and death, even in his own day, there was deep doubt and obscurity. The popular rumour ran that Frederick was ill; the physician of De Vineâ prescribed for him; the Emperor, having received some warning, addressed De Vineâ: "My friend, in thee I have full trust; art thou sure that this is medicine, not poison?" De Vineâ replied: "How often has my physician ministered healthful medicines: why are you now afraid?" Frederick took the cup, sternly commanded the physician to drink half of it. The physician threw himself at the King's feet, and as he fell overthrew the liquor. But what was left was administered to some criminals, who died in agony. The Emperor wrung his hands and wept bitterly: "Whom can

Peter de Vineâ.

[y] There is some doubt whether he was actually chancellor.

I now trust, betrayed by my own familiar friend? Never can I know security, never can I know joy more." By one account Peter de Vineâ was led ignominiously on an ass through Pisa, and thrown into prison, where he dashed his brains out against the wall. Dante's immortal verse has saved the fame of De Vineâ: according to the poet, he was the victim of wicked and calumnious jealousy.[z]

The next year Frederick himself lay dying at Fiorentino. His spirit was broken by the defeat of Parma; a strange wayward irresolution came over him: now he would march fiercely to Lyons and dethrone the Pope; now he was ready to make the humblest submission; now he seemed to break out into paroxysms of cruelty—prisoners were put to the torture, hung. Frederick, if at times rebellious against the religion, was not above the superstition of his times. He had faith in astrology: it had also been foretold that he should die in Firenze (Florence). In Fiorentino, a town not far from Lucera, he was seized with a mortal sickness. The hatred which pursued him to the grave, and far beyond the grave, described him as dying unreconciled to the Church, miserable, deserted, conscious of the desertion of all. The inexorable hatred pursued his family, and charged his son Manfred with hastening his death by smothering him with a pillow. By more credible accounts he died in Manfred's arms, having confessed and received absolution from the faithful Archbishop of Palermo. His body was carried to Palermo in great state, a magnificent tomb raised over his remains, an epitaph proclaiming his glory and his virtues was inscribed by his son Manfred.[a] In his last will he directed that all her rights and honours should be restored to the Holy Church of Rome, his mother; under the condition that the Church should restore all the rights and honours of the Empire. In this provision the Church refused to see any concession, it was the still stubborn and perfidious act of a rebel. All his other

June, 1250. Death of Frederick II.

Dec. 13, 1250.

[z] "I son colui, che tenne ambo le chiavi
Del cuor di Frederigo, e che le volsi
Serrando e desserando, si soavi * *
* * * * * * *
La meretrice, che mai dal ospizio
Di Cesare non torse gli occhi putti,
Morte commune, e delle corte vizio
Infiammò contra me l'animi tutti.
E gl' infiammati infiammar si Augusto,
Che i lieti onori tornaro in tristi lutti,"
et seq.
Inferno, xiii. 58.

[a] Si probitas, sensus, virtutum gratia, census,
Nobilitas orti possent obsistere morti
Non foret extinctus Fredericus qui jacet intus.

pious legacies for the rebuilding and endowment of churches passed for nothing.

The world might suppose that with the death of Frederick the great cause of hostility had been removed; but he left to his whole race the inheritance of the implacable hatred of the Papal See; it was extinguished only in the blood of the last of the house of Hohenstaufen on the scaffold at Naples.

It might indeed seem as if, in this great conflict, each had done all in his power to justify the extreme suspicion, the immitigable aversion, of his adversary; to stir up the elements of strife, so that the whole world was arrayed one half against the other in defence of vital and absorbing principles of action. It was a war of ideas, as well as of men; and those ideas, on each side, maintained to the utmost imaginable height. That the justice of Frederick was a stern absolutism cannot be denied; that his notion of the Imperial power was not merely irreconcileable with the fierce and partisan liberties of the Italian republics, but with all true freedom; that he aspired to crush mankind into order and happiness with the iron hand of autocracy. Still no less than autocracy in those times could coerce the countless religious and temporal feudal tyrannies which oppressed and retarded civilisation. The Sicilian legislation of Frederick shows that order and happiness were the ultimate aim of his rule: the assertion of the absolute supremacy of law; premature advance towards representative government; the regard to the welfare of all classes; the wise commercial regulations; the cultivation of letters, arts, natural philosophy, science; all these if despotically enforced, were enforced by a wise and beneficent despotism. That Frederick was honoured, admired, loved by a great part of his subjects; that if by one party he was looked on with the bitterest abhorrence, to others he was no less the object of wonder and of profound attachment, appears from his whole history. In Sicily and Naples, though the nobles had been held down with an inflexible hand, though he was compelled to impose still heavier taxation, though his German house had contracted a large debt of unpopularity, though there might be more than one

conspiracy instantly and sternly suppressed, yet there was in both countries a fond, almost romantic attachment, to his name and that of his descendants. The crown of Germany, which he won by his gallant enterprise, he secured by his affability, courtesy, chivalrous nobleness of character. In Germany, not all the influence of the Pope could for a long time raise up a formidable opposition; the feeble rebellion of his son, unlike most parricidal rebellions of old, was crushed on his appearance. For a long time many of the highest churchmen were on his side; and when all the churchmen arrayed themselves against him, all, even his most dangerous enemies among the temporal princes, rallied round his banner; the Empire was one; it was difficult to find an obscure insignificant prince, with all the hierarchy on his side, to hazard the assumption of the Imperial crown.

Religion of Frederick.

The religion of Frederick is a more curious problem. If it exercised no rigorous control over his luxurious life, there was in his day no indissoluble alliance between Christian morals and Christian religion. This holy influence was no less wanting to the religion of many other kings, who lived and died in the arms of the Church. Frederick, if he had not been Emperor and King of Sicily, and so formidable to the Papal power, might have dallied away his life in unrebuked voluptuousness. If he had not threatened the patrimony of St. Peter, he might have infringed on the pure precepts of St. Peter. Frederick was a persecutor of the worst kind—a persecutor without bigotry: but the heretics were not only misbelievers, they were Lombard rebels. How far he may have been goaded into general scepticism by the doubts forced upon him by the unchristian conduct of the great churchmen: how far, in his heart, he had sunk to the miserable mocking indifference betrayed by some of the sarcasms, current, as from his lips, and which, even if merely gay and careless words, jarred so harshly on the sensitive religion of his age, cannot be known. Frederick certainly made no open profession of unbelief; he repeatedly offered to assert and vindicate the orthodoxy of his creed before the Pope himself. He was not superior, it is manifest, to some of the superstitions of his time; he

is accused of studying the influence of the stars, but it may have been astrology aspiring (under Arabic teaching) to astronomy, rather than astronomy grovelling down to astrology. That which most revolted his own age, his liberality towards the Mohammedans, his intercourse by negotiation, and in the Holy Land, with the Sultan and his viziers, and with his own enlightened Saracen subjects, as well as his terrible body-guard at Nocera, will find a fairer construction in modern times. How much Europe had then to learn from Arabian letters, arts and sciences; how much of her own wisdom to receive back through those channels, appeared during the present and the succeeding centuries. Frederick's, in my judgement, was neither scornful and godless infidelity, nor certainly a more advanced and enlightened Christianity, yearning after holiness and purity not then attainable. It was the shattered, dubious, at times trembling faith, at times desperately reckless incredulity, of a man for ever under the burthen of an undeserved excommunication, of which he could not but discern the injustice, but could not quite shake off the terrors: of a man, whom a better age of Christianity might not have made religious; whom his own made irreligious. Perhaps the strongest argument in favour of Frederick, is the generous love which he inspired to many of the noblest minds of his time; not merely such bold and eloquent legists as Thaddeus of Suessa, whose pride and conscious power might conspire with his zeal for the Imperial cause, to make him confront so intrepidly, so eloquently, the Council at Lyons; it was the first bold encounter of the Roman lawyer with the host of Canon lawyers. Nor was it merely Peter de Vineâ, whose melancholy fate revenged itself for its injustice, if he ever discovered its injustice, on the stricken and desolate heart of the King: but of men, like Herman of Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order. Herman was, by all accounts, one of the most blameless, the noblest, the most experienced, most religious of men. If his Teutonic Order owed the foundation of its greatness, with lavish grants and immunities, to Frederick, it owed its no less valuable religious existence, its privileges, its support against the hostile clergy, to the Popes. Honorius and

Gregory vied with the Emperor in heaping honours on De Salza and his Order. Yet throughout his first conflict, De Salza is the firm, unswerving friend of Frederick. He follows his excommunicated master to the Holy Land, adheres to his person in good report and evil report; death alone separates the friends.[b] The Archbishop of Palermo (against whom is no breath of calumny) is no less, to the close of Frederick's life, his tried and inseparable friend; he never seems to have denied him, though excommunicate, the offices of religion; buried him, though yet unabsolved, in his cathedral; inscribed on his tomb an epitaph, which, if no favourable proof of the Archbishop's poetic powers, is the lasting tribute of his fervent, faithful admiration.

Pope Innocent IV.

On the other hand, Innocent IV. not only carried the Papal claims to the utmost, and asserted them with a kind of ostentatious intrepidity: "We are no mere man, we have the place of God upon earth!" but there was a personal arrogance in his demeanour, and an implacability which revolted even the most awe-struck worshippers of the Papal power. Towards Frederick he showed, blended with the haughtiness of the Pope, the fierceness of a Guelfic partisan; he hated him with something of the personal hatred of a chief of the opposite faction in one of the Italian republics. Never was the rapacity of the Roman See so insatiate as under Innocent IV.; the taxes levied in England alone, her most profitable spiritual estate, amounted to incredible sums. Never was aggression so open or so daring on the rights and exemptions of the clergy (during the greater part of the strife the support of the two new Orders enabled the Pope to trample on the clergy, and to compel them to submit to extortionate contributions towards his wars): never was the spiritual character so entirely merged in the temporal as among his Legates. They were no longer the austere and pious, if haughty churchmen. Cardinal Rainier commanded the Papal forces in the states of St. Peter with something of the ability and all the ferocity and mer-

[b] In Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, is a very elaborate and interesting account of Herman of Salza, and the rise of the Teutonic Order.

cilessness of a later Captain of Condottieri; Albert von Beham, the Archdeacon of Passau, had not merely been detected, as we have seen, in fraudulent malversation and shamefully expelled from Bavaria, but when he appeared again as Dean of Passau, his own despatches, which describe his negotiations with the Duke of Bavaria, show a repulsive depth of arrogant iniquity. The incitement of Conrad to rebellion against his father seems to him but an ordinary proceeding. The Bishop of Ferrara, the Legate in Germany, was a drunkard, if not worse. Gregory of Monte Longo, during the whole period Papal representative in Lombardy, the conductor of all the negotiations with the republics, the republics which swarmed with heretics, was a man of notorious incontinence; Frederick himself had hardly more concubines than the Cardinal Legate.

Immediately on the death of Frederick, the Pope began to announce his intention of returning to Italy. Peter Capoccio was ordered to ascertain the state of feeling in the kingdom of Sicily. The Pope himself raised a song of triumph, addressed to all the prelates and all the nobles of the realm: "Earth and heaven were to break out into joy at this great deliverance."[c] But the greater number of both orders seem to have been insensible to the blessing; they were mourning over the grave of him whom the Pope described as the hammer of persecution. The aged Archbishop of Palermo and the Archbishop of Salerno openly espoused the cause of Conrad; the Archbishop of Bari, Frederick's deadly enemy, seemed to stand alone in the Papal interest. Strangers, the Subdeacon Matthew, and a Dominican friar, were sent into Calabria and Sicily to stir up the clergy to a sense of their wrongs. In Germany Conrad was arraigned as a rebellious usurper for presuming to offer resistance to William of Holland. He was again solemnly excommunicated; a crusade was preached against him. The Pope even endeavoured to estrange the Swabians from their liege lord: "Herod is dead; Archelaus aspires to reign in his stead." In an attempt to murder Conrad at Ratisbon, the Abbot Ulric is supposed to have been the chief actor; the

The Pope after the death of Frederick.

Dec. 25, 1250.

[c] Raynald. sub ann. 1251.

Bishop of Ratisbon was awaiting without the walls the glad tidings of the accomplishment of the assassination.[d] The Archbishop of Mentz, Christian, a prelate of great piety, broaches the unpalatable doctrine that, as far as spiritual enemies, the word of God is the only lawful sword; but as for drawing the sword of steel, he held it unbefitting his priestly character. He is deposed for these strange opinions.[e] A youth, the Subdeacon Gerard, is placed on the Primate's throne of Germany.

The kings do honour to Innocent IV.

Monarchs, however, seemed to vie in giving honour to the triumphant Pontiff on his proposed return to Rome. The Queen-mother Blanche of France (Louis IX., her son, was now prisoner in the East) offered to accompany him with a strong body of French troops. Henry of England expressed his earnest desire to prostrate himself at the feet of the Holy Father before he departed for the south. Alphonso of Castile entreated him to trust to the arms, fleets, and protection of Spain, rather than of France. Before he bade farewell to the city of Lyons, whose pious hospitality he rewarded with high praise and some valuable privileges,[f] he had an interview within the city with his own Emperor William of Holland. After that he descended the Rhone to Vienne,

April 19.

to Orange, and then proceeded to Marseilles. He arrived at Genoa; the city hailed her holy son with the utmost honours. The knights and nobles of the territory supported a silken canopy over his head to

May 17.

protect him from the sun. On Ascension-day he received the delegates from the cities of Lombardy. Ghibellinism held down its awe-struck and discomfited head. Rome alone was not as yet thought worthy, or

[d] "Qui episcopus foras muros civitatis cum multis armatis eventum rei solicitus expectabat."—Herm. Alt. apud Boehmer, ii. 507. See Chron. Salis. Pez. i. 362.

[e] "At jure episcopatu dejectum ob principatum conjunctum exploratum est; cum non modo præsulem sed etiam principem agere, ac vim insultantium ecclesiæ vi repellere oporteret." Such is the comment of the ecclesiastical annalist Raynaldus, sub ann.

[f] The morals of Lyons were not improved by the residence of the Papal court. It was openly declared by Cardinal Hugo, "Magnam fecimus, postquam in hanc urbem venimus, utilitatem et eleemosynam: quando enim primo huc venimus, tria vel quatuor prostibula invenimus; sed nunc recedentes unum solum relinquimus; verum ipsum durat continuatum ab orientali parte civitatis usque ad occidentalem."—Matt. Paris, p. 819.

sought not to be admitted to the favour of his presence, or he dared not trust,[s] notwithstanding his close alliance with the Frangipani (whom he had bought), that unruly city. He visited Milan, Brescia, Mantua, Ferrara, Modena, everywhere there was tumultuous joy among the Guelfs. While he was at Milan Lodi made her submission: the Count of Savoy abandoned the party of the Hohenstaufen. On All-Saints'-Day he was at Faenza; on the 5th of November he stayed his steps, and fixed his court at Perugia. For a year and a half he remained in that city; Rome was not honoured with the presence of her Pontiff till Rome compelled that presence.

His return to Italy. July 24.

Among the first resolutions of Innocent was the suppression of heresy, more especially in the Ghibelline cities, such as Cremona. A holocaust of these outcasts would be a fit offering of gratitude to heaven for the removal of the perfidious Frederick. It was his design to strike in this manner at the head of the Ghibelline interests in Lombardy. The sum of Eccelin di Romano's atrocities, atrocities which, even if blackened by Guelfic hatred, are the most frightful in these frightful times, must be still aggravated by the charge of hereditary heresy. It may well be doubted if such a monster could have religion enough to be a heretic; but Eccelin was dead to spiritual censures as to the reproaches of his own conscience.

But the affairs of the kingdom of Naples occupied the thoughts of Innocent. Though the firm hand of Manfred had maintained almost the whole realm in allegiance, the nominal rule was intrusted by King Conrad to his younger brother Henry. The denunciations, intrigues, and censures of the Pope had wrought on certain nobles and cities. A conspiracy broke out simultaneously in many places, at the head of which was the Count of Aquino; in Apulia the cities of Foggia, Andrea, and Barletta; in the Terra di Lavoro Capua and Naples were in open rebellion. Capua and Naples defied all the forces of Manfred. The Pope had already assumed a sovereign power, as if the forfeited realm had reverted to the Holy

[s] Nic. de Curbio, c. 30.

See. He had revoked all Frederick's decrees which were hostile to the Church: he had invested Henry Frangipani with Manfred's principality of Tarentum and the land of Otranto; he had bestowed on the Venetian Marco Ziani, the kinsman of the captain executed by Frederick, the principality of Lecce.

Conrad had already with some forces crossed the Alps; he had been received by the few faithful Ghibelline cities in Lombardy, Verona, Padua, Vicenza. But throughout Central Italy the Guelfic faction prevailed; the Papal forces were strong. He demanded of the Venetians, and as they were glad to get rid of Conrad from the north of Italy, he obtained ships to convey him to the south; he landed at Siponto, near Manfredonia. He was received by Manfred and by the principal nobility as their deliverer. Aquino, Suessa, San Germano fell before him, and Capua opened her gates; Naples was stormed, sacked, and treated with the utmost cruelty. Innocent beheld the son of Frederick, though under excommunication, in full and undisturbed possession of his hereditary kingdom. Innocent looked in vain for aid in Italy; his own forces, those of the Guelfs, had not obeyed the summons to relieve Naples. Eccelin di Romano and the Ghibellines occupied those of Lombardy; the Guelfs of Tuscany and Romagna, now superior to the Ghibellines, had broken out into factions among themselves; the fleets of Genoa were engaged against the infidels. Innocent looked abroad; the wealth of England had been his stay in former adversities. He had already sent an offer of the kingdom of Naples to the brother of King Henry, Richard of Cornwall; but Richard, from timidity or prudence, shrunk from this remote enterprise. He alleged the power of Conrad; his own relationship with the house of Swabia: in his mistrust he went so far as to demand guarantees and hostages for the fulfilment of his contract on the part of the Pope. But his feeble brother, Henry of England, was not embarrassed by this prudence. He accepted the offer of the investiture for his second son Edmund; in his weak vanity he addressed

Conrad in Italy, Oct. 1251.

Jan. 8, 1252. March, August, Oct. 1253.

Papal decree. May 14, 1254.

Henry III. accepts the crown of Apulia for his son. Aug. 1252.

Edmund in his court, and treated him as already the King of Sicily. The more prudent Nuncio of the Pope enjoined greater caution; but all that the King could abstract from his own exchequer, borrow of his brother Richard, extort from the Jews, exact by his justices on their circuit, was faithfully transmitted to Rome, and defrayed the cost of the Papal armament against Conrad. For this vain title, which the Pope resumed at his earliest convenience, Henry III. endangered his own throne: these exactions precipitated the revolt of his Barons, which ended in the battle of Lewes.

But while Innocent IV. was thus triumphing over the fall of his great enemy; while he was levying taxes on the tributary world; while he was bestowing the empire of Germany on William of Holland, assuming the kingdom of Naples as an appanage escheated to the See of Rome, and selling it to one foreign prince after another, he was himself submitting to the stern dictation of the people and the Senator of Rome. The Frangipanis could no longer repay with their vigorous support the honours bestowed upon their family by the grant of the principality of Tarentum. The popular party was in the ascendant; Brancaleone, a Bolognese of great fame as a lawyer, was summoned to assume the dignity of Senator of Rome. He refused for a time to place himself at the head of the unruly people; he consented only on the prudent condition that thirty hostages of the noblest families in Rome should be sent to Bologna. Nor would he condescend to accept the office but for the period of three years. He exacted a solemn oath of obedience from every citizen. At first the nobles as well as the people appear to have acquiesced in the stern, just rule of the Senator. No rank, no power could protect the high born; no obscurity, nor the favour of the populace, the meaner criminal. His first act was to hang from the windows of their castles some citizens notorious and convicted as homicides; other rebels he suspended on gibbets.[h] Among his first acts was to summon the Bishop of Rome to take up his residence in his diocese; it was not becoming that the Queen of cities

The Senator Brancaleone.

[h] Raynald. sub ann. 1254.

should sit as a widow without her Pontiff. Innocent hesitated; a more imperious message summoned him to instant obedience; at the same time the Perugians received a significant menace; that if they persisted in entertaining the Pope, the Romans would treat them as they had already treated other cities in the neighbourhood, whom they had subdued by force of arms. Innocent trembled and complied; he entered Rome with a serene countenance but heavy heart. He was received with triumph by the Senator and the whole people. In the spring Innocent again withdrew from Rome to Assisi; the pretext was the consecration of the magnificent church of St. Francis.[i] But the impatient people murmured at his delay; the Senator Brancaleone again sent messengers to expostulate in haughty humility with the Pope; "it became not the pastor to abandon his flock: he was the Bishop not of Lyons, of Perugia, of Anagni, but of Rome." The people of Assisi, like those of Perugia, were warned by the fate of Ostia, Porto, Tusculum, Albano, Sabina, and of Tivoli, against which last the Romans were in arms. Innocent was compelled to return; he passed by Narni, and again he was received with outward demonstrations of joy; but now secret murmurs and even violent reclamations were heard that the Pope owed the people of Rome great sums for the losses sustained by his long absence. Pilgrims and suitors had been few; they had let no lodgings; their shops had been without customers; their provisions unsold; their old usurious profits of lending money had failed. The Pope could only take refuge in the rigid justice of the Senator; Brancaleone allayed or awed the tumult to peace.

May 25, 1253.

Yet at the same time Innocent was pursuing his schemes upon the kingdom of Naples without fear or scruple. Conrad at first had made overtures of submission.[k] He was strong enough to indulge the hereditary cruelty which he unhappily displayed in a far higher degree than the ability and splendour of his fore-

Early in 1254. Conrad in Naples.

[i] Matt. Paris, sub ann. 1252. Curbio, Vit. Innocent IV. Compare Gibbon, xii. 278, ch. lxix.

[k] To the Pope's first envoy, according to Spinelli, Conrad haughtily replied, "Chè farei meglio ad impacciarsi con la chierica rasa."—Diario, apud Muratori.

fathers,[m] and to foster ignoble jealousy against his bastard brother, Manfred; to whom he owed the preservation of his realm, but whose fame, extraordinary powers of body and mind, influence, popularity overshadowed the authority of the King. He gradually withdrew his confidence from Manfred, and despoiled him of his power and honours.[n] With admirable prudence Manfred quietly let fall title after title, post after post, possession after possession; nothing remained to him but the principality of Tarentum, and that burthened with a heavy tax raised for the royal treasury. The King dismissed, under various pretexts, the kindred of Manfred, Galvaneo and Frederico Lancia, Bonifacio di Argoino, his maternal uncle. The noble exiles found refuge with the Empress Constantia, Manfred's sister, at Constantinople: Conrad, by his ambassadors, insisted on their expulsion from that court.

But the Pope, in his despair at this unexpected strength displayed by the House of Swabia, had recourse to new measures of hostility. Conrad, like his ally Eccelin, was attainted of heresy; both were summoned to appear before the presence of the Pope to answer these charges; and to surrender themselves unarmed, unprotected into the hands of their enemy. Conrad whose policy it was rather to conciliate than irreconcileably to break with the Pope, condescended to make his appearance by his proctor in the Papal Court.

But death was on the house of Hohenstaufen. Henry, the younger son of Frederick, a youth of twelve years old, came from Sicily to visit his brother Conrad; he sickened and died.[o] No death could take place in this doomed family, the object of such inextinguishable hate, without being darkened from a calamity into a crime. Conrad was accused of poisoning his brother, and by the Pope himself. Even the melancholy of Conrad at the loss of his brother, perhaps a presentiment of his own approaching end, was attributed to remorse. He hardly raised his head again; he wrote letters to the court

Death of Prince Henry. Dec. 1253.

[m] "Vi fece gran giustizia, e grande uccisione."—M. Spinelli, Diario, apud Muratori, R. I. S. xii. Bartholomeo di Neocastro, c. iii. Murat. R. I. S. xiii.

[n] Giannone, p. 485.

[o] Matt. Paris, sub ann. Nic. de Jamsilla. The Pope is said to have proposed to marry his niece to Henry (Paris, p. 832). A treaty was begun. Conrad during the negotiations was poisoned, but recovered. He accused the Pope of this poisoning (ibid. 852). The Pope himself accused Conrad of poisoning Henry.

of England, full of the most passionate grief. In another year Conrad himself was in his grave: he was seized with a violent fever, and died in a few days. Of his death the guilt, for guilt the Guelfs were determined to see, was laid on Manfred.[p] Conradin, almost an infant, not three years old, was the one legitimate heir of Barbarossa and of Frederick II. The consummate sagacity of Manfred led him to declare that he would not accept the Regency of the realm which Conrad (perhaps in some late remorse, or in the desperate conviction enforced on his death-bed, that Manfred alone could protect his son) had thought of bequeathing to him. Manfred awaited his time: he left to Berthold, Marquis of Homburg, the commander of the German auxiliaries of Conrad, the perilous post, knowing perhaps at once the incapacity of Berthold, and the odiousness of the Germans to the subjects of Sicily. Berthold, according to the will of Conrad, assumed the Regency, took possession of the royal treasures, and, in obedience to the dying instructions of Conrad, sent an humble message entreating peace and the parental protection of the Pope for the fatherless orphan. Innocent was said to have broken out into a paroxysm of joy on hearing the death of Conrad. But he assumed a lofty tone of compassion; enlarged upon his own merciful disposition; granted to Conradin the barren title of King of Jerusalem, and acknowledged his right to the Dukedom of Swabia. But the absolute dominion of the kingdom of Naples had devolved to the Roman See: when Conradin should be of age, the See of Rome might then, if he should appear not undeserving, condescend to take his claims into her gracious consideration.

Of Conrad. May 21, 1254.

Conradin.

June 19.

Innocent had again, perhaps on account of the summer heats, escaped from Rome, and was holding his court at Anagni. He spared no measures to become master of the kingdom of Naples. He issued extraordinary powers to William, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, to raise money and troops for this enterprise. The Cardinal was authorised to empawn as security to the Roman merchants, the Church of Rome, all the castles and possessions of the separate churches of the city, of the Cam-

[p] Jamsilla, Malespina.

pagna and the Maritima, and of the kingdom of Sicily. He was to seize and appropriate to the use of the war the possessions and revenues of all the vacant Bishoprics; and of all the Bishoprics, though not vacant, whose prelates did not espouse the Papal cause. He had power to levy taxes, and even money throughout the realm; to confiscate all the estates of the adherents of Frederick and of his son, who should not, after due admonition, return to their allegiance to the Pope. He might annul all grants, seize all fiefs, and regrant them to the partisans of Rome. By these exertions, a great army was gathered on the frontier. From Anagni the Pope issued his bull of excommunication against Manfred, the Marquis of Homburg, and all the partisans of the house of Conrad.[q] The Regent, the Marquis of Homburg, found that many of the nobles were in secret treaty with the Pope; he let the sceptre of Regency fall from his feeble hands; and amidst the general contempt abdicated his trust.

All eyes were turned on Manfred; all who were attached to the house of Swabia, all who abhorred or despised the Papal government, all who desired the independence of the realm, counts, barons, many of the higher clergy, at least in secret, implored Manfred to assume the Regency. Manfred, consummate in the art of self-command, could only be forced in these calamitous times to imperil his honour by taking up this dangerous post. Rumours indeed were abroad of the death of Conradin; and Manfred was the next successor, according to the will of his father Frederick.[r] He assumed the Regency; threw a strong force of Germans into St. Germano; fortified Capua and the adjacent towns to check the progress of the Papal arms. But everywhere was rebellion, defection, treachery. The Papal agents had persuaded or bribed Pietro Ruffo, the Regent, under Berthold of Homburg, of Calabria and Sicily, and raised the Papal standard.

Manfred Regent.

Date doubtful, 1254.

[q] Apud Raynald. 1254, Sept. 2.

[r] Nic. Jamsilla makes Manfred legitimate; his mother, Bianca Lancia, was the *fifth* wife of Frederick. But Manfred does not seem to have asserted his own legitimacy. Malespina (though Papalist) writes, "Tanquam ex damnato coitu derivatus, defectum natalium paciatur, nobilis tamen naturæ decus utriusque parentis, qua ortus ejus esse meruerat generosus, maculam fere defectûs hujus expiabat."—Apud Hurter, viii. 787.

Berthold's own conduct indicated treachery; he sent no troops to the aid of Manfred, but roved about with his Germans, committing acts of plunder, and so estranging the people from the Swabian rule. He retained possession of the royal treasures. Richard of Monte Negro had already, in hatred of Berthold, made his peace with the Pope; other nobles were secretly dealing for the renewal of their fiefs, or for the grant of escheated fiefs, with the Pope, who claimed the right of universal sovereign. Even in Capua a conspiracy was discovered against the power and against the life of Manfred.

Conduct of Manfred.

Manfred was as great a master in the arts of dissimulation as the Pope himself. He found it necessary at least to appear to yield. Already the Papal agents had sounded his fidelity; he now openly appealed to the magnanimity of the Pope as the protector of the orphan; he expressed his willingness to admit the Pope into the realm, reserving his own rights and those of his royal ward. Innocent was in a transport of joy. In his most luxuriant language he dwelt on the moderation, the delight in mercy, the parental tenderness of the Roman See: he received Manfred into his highest favour. Not regarding his grant to the Frangipani, he invested Manfred (Galvanco Fiamma, his uncle, receiving in his name the ring of investiture) with the Principality of Tarentum, with the County of Gravina, Tricarico, and the Honour of Monte St. Angelo: he added the Countship of Andrea, which he had obtained in exchange for other territories from the Marquis of Homburg: with this he invested Frederick Lancia, Manfred's other uncle. Manfred met all these advances with his consummate self-command. He received the Pope on his entrance into his kingdom at Ceperano, prostrated himself at his feet, led his horse, as he passed the bridge over the Garigliano.[a] The pride of Innocent was at its height in seeing Naples in his power, the son of Frederick at his feet. He lavished honours on Manfred; proclaimed him Vicar of the realm, to the Faro. Manfred persuaded the Pope to scatter his forces all

[a] On this homage, says Spinelli, "et onneuno se ne meravigliao assai."—Apud Muratori.

through the provinces, and by their means controlled the Germans, whom he could not trust, and who began quietly to withdraw to their own country.[1] The people hailed Manfred as Vicar of the Pope. They enjoyed again, and under a Swabian prince not environed by German soldiery, their full religious ceremonies.

The Pope entered the kingdom as though to take possession of the realm: after a short delay at Theano from indisposition, he entered Capua in state; he entered Naples in still greater pomp. His nephew, William Fiesco, Cardinal of St. Eustachio, his Legate, received the homage of the prelates and the nobles, with no reservation of the rights of the King or of the Prince, but absolutely in the name of the Pope, to whom had devolved the full sovereignty. Manfred himself was summoned to take the oath of allegiance. In his deep dissimulation he might have eluded this trial; he was perhaps awaiting the death of the Pope, now old and in bad health; but an accidental circumstance compelled him prematurely to throw off the mask. Borello d' Anglone, as the reward of his revolt to the Pope, had received the grant of the county of Lesina, an under-fief of Manfred's principality. Manfred summoned him to do homage; Anglone, confident in the Pope's favour, returned a haughty denial. Manfred appealed to the Pope. The oracle spoke with his usual cautious ambiguity, he had granted to Borello none of the rights of Manfred. Berthold of Homburg was on his way to do homage to the Pope; Manfred withdrew, lest he should encounter him in Capua; his guards fell in with those of Borello; strife arose, Borello, unknown to Manfred, was slain. Manfred sent his messengers, declaring himself ready to prove himself before the Pope guiltless of the death of Borello. He was summoned to answer in person. He received secret intelligence from his uncle Galvaneo Lancia, that the treacherous Berthold of Homburg, instead of espousing his cause, had secretly betrayed it; that his liberty at least was threatened, if not his life. He mounted his horse, with few followers; after many wild adventures, he

The Pope in Naples. Oct. 27, 1254.

Death of Borello d'Anglone. Flight of Manfred.

[1] Giannone, *in loc.*

reached the city of Lucera, occupied chiefly by the Saracenic allies of his father. In despite of the German knights who commanded in the city in the name of Berthold of Homburg, he was received with the loudest acclamations. He was proclaimed Prince and Sovereign. Before the people he swore to maintain and defend the rights and title of the King his nephew, and his own, the liberty and the good estate of the realm, and of the city.

In a short time he was master of Foggia, had gained a brilliant victory over the Papal troops, and those of the Marquis of Homburg.

Innocent had already entered into negotiations with that enemy afterwards so fatal to Manfred. He had once sold the realm of Sicily to Edmund of England, and received at least some part of the price: he had now, regardless of his former obligations, or supposing them forfeited by the inactivity or less lavish subsidies of England, offered the realm to Charles of Anjou, the brother of the King of France. All his solemn engagements were, to Innocent IV., but means to advance his immediate interests. He might seem as if he would try to the utmost his own power of absolution to release himself from the most sacred obligations.[u]

Dec. 1254.

But death, which had prostrated the enemies of Frederick before his feet, and had reduced the house of Swabia to a child and a bastard, now laid his hand on Innocent himself. He died master of Naples, the city of his great adversary, in the palace of Peter de Vineâ, the minister of that adversary. He left a name odious for ambition, rapacity, implacable pride, to part, at least, of Christendom. In England, where his hand had been the heaviest, strange tales were accredited of his dying hours, and of what followed his death. It was said that he died in an agony of terror and remorse; his kindred were bitterly wailing around his bed, rending their garments and tearing their hair: he woke up from a state

Death of Innocent. Dec. 7, 1254.

[u] Petr. de Vineâ, Epist. ii. 45. I here agree with M. Cherrier: "Trop de faits attestent qu'Innocent IV. n'était sincère avec personne; qu'il promettait et se rétractait avec une égale facilité, suivant l'état de ses affaires."—t. iii. p. 394.

seemingly senseless, "Wretches, why are ye weeping? have I not made you all rich enough?" He had been, indeed, one of the first Popes, himself of noble family, who by the marriage of his nieces, by heaping up civil and ecclesiastical dignities on his relatives, had made a Papal family. On the very night of his death a monk, whose name the English historian conceals from prudence, had a vision. He was in Heaven, and saw God seated on his throne. On his right was the Holy Virgin, on his left a stately and venerable matron, who held what seemed a temple in her outstretched hand. On the pediment of this temple was written in letters of gold, "The Church." Innocent was prostrate before the throne, with clasped and lifted hands and bowed knees, imploring pardon, not judgement. But the noble matron said, "O, equitable judge, render just judgement. I arraign this man on three charges: Thou hast founded the Church upon earth and bestowed upon her precious liberties; this man has made her the vilest of slaves. The Church was founded for the salvation of sinners; he has degraded it to a counting-house of money-changers. The Church has been built on the foundation stones of faith, justice, and truth; he has shaken alike faith and morals, destroyed justice, darkened truth." And the Lord said, "Depart and receive the recompense thou hast deserved;" and Innocent was dragged away. "Whether this was an unreal vision, we know not," adds the historian, "but it alarmed many. God grant it may have amended them."

Nor was this all. The successor of Innocent was himself warned and terrified by a dream of not less awful import. In a spacious palace sat a judge of venerable majesty; by his side a stately matron, environed by a countless company. A bier was carried out by mean-looking bearers; upon it rested a corpse of sad appearance. The dead arose, cast himself before the throne, "O God of might and mercy, have pity upon me!" The judge was silent, the matron spoke: "The time of repentance is passed, the day of judgement is come. Woe to thee, for thou shalt have justice, not mercy. Thou hast wasted the Church of God during thy life; thou hast become a carnal man;

disdained, despised, annulled the acts of thy holy predecessors; therefore shall thine own acts be held annulled." The severe judge uttered his sentence! The bier was hurried away. The dead, sent to a place which the Christian may charitably hope was Purgatory. Pope Alexander tremblingly inquired who was the dead man. His guide replied, "Sinibald, thy predecessor, who died of grief, not for his sins, but for the defeat of his army." The affrighted Alexander, when he awoke, ordered masses and alms to mitigate the purgatorial sufferings of his predecessor; he endeavoured to retrieve Innocent's sins by cancelling some of his acts; to one who offered rich presents to buy a benefice, the Pope replied, "No, my friend, he who sold churches is dead."[x]

Such were the current and popular tales, which showed that even the Pope could not violate the great Christian principles of Christian justice and generosity and mercy, with impunity, or without some strong remonstrance finding its expression. If Innocent, indeed, had not trampled on the rights of the clergy, these murmurs had not been so deep and loud: it was this that impersonated, as it were, the Church, to demand his condemnation. It was not Imperialist or Ghibelline hatred, but the hatred of churchmen which invented or propagated these legends.

In England, indeed, not only after his death, but during his life, the courageous English spirit had allied itself with the profoundest religious feeling to protest against the rapacity and usurpation of the Italian Pope. It had found a powerful and intrepid voice in Robert Grostête Bishop of Lincoln. Robert Grostête, during his life, had manfully resisted and fearlessly condemned the acts of the haughty Pontiff: after his death he had been permitted, it was believed, to appear in a vision.

Robert Grostête was of humble birth: at Oxford his profound learning won the admiration of Roger Bacon. He translated the book called the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs. He went to France to make himself master of that language. He became Archdeacon of Leicester, Bishop of Lincoln. As Bishop of that vast diocese he

[x] All these are from Matt. Paris.

began to act with a holy rigour unprecedented in his times. With him Christian morals were inseparable from Christian faith. He endeavoured to bring back the festivals of the Church, which had grown into days of idleness and debauchery, to their sacred character; he would put down the Feast of Fools, held on New Year's Day. But it was against the clergy, as on them altogether depended the holiness of the people, that he acted with the most impartial severity. He was a Churchman of the highest hierarchical notions. Becket himself did not assert the immunities and privileges of the Church with greater intrepidity: rebellion against the clergy was as the sin of witchcraft; but those immunities, those privileges, implied heavier responsibility; that authority, belonged justly only to a holy, exemplary, unworldly clergy. Everywhere he was encountered with sullen, stubborn, or open resistance. He was condemned as restless, harsh, passionate: he was the Ishmael of the hierarchy, with his hand against every man, every man's hand against him. The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln were his foremost and most obstinate opponents; the clergy asserted their privileges, the monasteries their Papal exemptions; the nobles complained of his interference with their rights of patronage, the King himself that he sternly prohibited the clergy from all secular offices; they must not act as the King's justiciaries, or sit to adjudge capital offences. His allies were the new Orders, the Preachers and Mendicants. He addressed letters of confidence to the generals of both Orders. He resolutely took his stand on his right of refusing institution to unworthy clergy.[y] He absolutely refused to admit to benefices pluralists, boys, those employed in the King's secular service, in the courts of judicature or the collection of the revenue; in many cases foreigners; he resisted alike Churchmen, the Chancellor of Exeter; nobles, he would not admit a son of the Earl of Ferrars, as under age; the King, whose indignation knew no bounds; he resisted the Cardinal Legates, the Pope himself.

As a Churchman, Grostête held the loftiest views of the power of the Pope: his earlier letters to the Pope are in the most submissive, almost adulatory tone; to the

[y] Godwin. de Præsul. Matt. Paris.

Cardinals they are full of the most profound reverence. The Canon Law is as eternal, immutable, universal as the law of God. The Pope has undoubted power to dispose of all benefices; but for the abuse of that power hell-fire is the doom.[z] The resistance of the clergy to their Bishop involved the bishops and themselves in vast expense; there was a perpetual appeal to Rome. Twice Grostête appeared in Lyons: the second time he was received with respect and courtesy by the Pope and Cardinals. The Pope even permitted him to read in his own presence and in the full consistory, a memorial against the abuses of the Court of Rome (the Curia), of its avarice and venality, its usurpations and exemptions, hardly surpassed in its rigorous invective in later times. Grostête returned to England with a decree against the refractory Chapter of Lincoln, ample powers to reform his diocese, and the strong support of the seeming favour of the Pope. The Pope even condescended to limit to some extent the demands of the Italian clergy on English benefices. Yet on his return even the firm mind of Grostête was shaken by the difficulties of his position: he meditated retirement from the intractable world; but he shook off the unworthy sloth, and commenced and carried through a visitation of his diocese unprecedented in its stern severity. The contumacious clergy were compelled to submit, and accepted his conditions; the monasteries opened their reluctant gates, and acknowledged his authority. In the convents of nuns he is said to have put their chastity to a strange and indelicate test, which shows at once the coarseness of the times and the laxity of morals. Yet he extorted from the monkish historian, who perhaps had suffered under his rigour, the admission that his sole object was the salvation of souls.[a]

On Innocent's triumphal return to Italy he had become, as it were, wanton in his invasions on the impoverished English Church. It was rumoured, incredible as it seems,

[z] "Scio et veraciter scio, domini Papæ et sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ hanc esse potestatem, ut de omnibus beneficiis ecclesiasticis libere possit ordinare, scio quoque quod quicquid abutitur hac potestate, . . . ædificat ad ignem Gehennæ."—Epist. 49, apud Brown, Fasciculus ii. 339.

[a] Paris, sub ann.

that he demanded provision for three hundred of the Roman clergy.[b] Robert Grostête was summoned to the test of his obedience to the See of Rome. He had ordered a calculation to be made of the ecclesiastical revenues possessed by strangers in England. It amounted to 70,000 marks: the King's income was not one-third of the sum. Grostête received command, through his Nuncio, to confer a canonry of Lincoln on the nephew of Innocent, a boy, Frederick of Louvain. Grostête was not daunted by the ascendant power of the Pope.[c] His answer was a firm, resolute, argumentative refusal: "I am bound by filial reverence to obey all commands of the Apostolic See; but those are not Apostolic commands which are not consonant to the doctrine of the Apostles, and the Master of the Apostles, Christ Jesus. The most holy Apostolic See cannot command that which verges on the odious detestable abomination, pernicious to mankind, opposed to the sanctity of the Apostolic See, contrary to the Catholic faith. You cannot in your discretion enact any penalty against me, for my resistance is neither strife nor rebellion, but filial affection to my father, and veneration for my mother the Church."[d]

It was reported in England, that when this letter reached the Pope, he cried out in a passion of wrath, "Who is this old dotard who presumes to judge our acts? By St. Peter and St. Paul, if we were not restrained by our generosity, we would make him a fable, an astonishment, an example, and a warning to the world. Is not the King of England our vassal, rather our slave? Would he not, at a sign from us, throw this Bishop into prison and reduce him to the lowest disgrace?" With difficulty the Cardinals allayed his wrath: they pleaded the Bishop's irreproachable life, his Catholic doctrine; they more than insinuated the truth of his charges. The condemnation of Grostête might revolt the whole clergy of France and England, "for he is

[b] There are many mandates for benefices in favour of Italians.—MS. B. M. *E. g.* Stephen the Pope's chaplain to hold the rich archdeaconry of Canterbury with the archdeaconry of Vienne, et alia beneficia. vii. sub ann. 1252, p. 110; a Colonna, 213. An Annibaldi De ——, and John of Civitella, 289; one or more prebends, *with* or *without* cure of souls.

[c] Paris.

[d] The letter in Brown. Fasciculus, p. 400.

There is a point which I find it

held a great philosopher, deeply learned in Greek and Latin letters, a reader in theology, a devout preacher, an admirer of chastity, a persecutor of Simoniacs." The more moderate or more astute counsels prevailed. Papal letters were framed which in some degree mitigated the abuses of these Papal provisions. The Pope acknowledged, almost in apologetic tone, that he had been driven by the difficulties of the times and the irresistible urgency of partisans to measures which he did not altogether approve. All who possessed such benefices were to be guaranteed in their free enjoyment, all who had expectancies were to be preferred to other persons, but these benefices were not to go down, as it were, by hereditary descent from Italian to Italian: on decease or vacancy the patron, prelate, monastery, or layman, might at once present.[e]

On Grostête's death it was believed that music was heard in the air, bells of distant churches tolled of their own accord, miracles were wrought at his grave and in his church at Lincoln. But it was said likewise that the inexorable Pontiff entertained the design of having his body disinterred and his bones scattered. But Robert Grostête himself appeared in a vision, dressed in his pontifical robes before the Pope. "Is it thou, Sinibald, thou miserable Pope, who wilt cast my bones out of their cemetery, to thy disgrace and that of the Church of Lincoln? Better were it for thee to respect after their death the zealous servants of God. Thou hast despised the advice which I gave thee in times of respectful humility. Woe to thee who hast despised, thou shalt be

difficult to explain. In the former epistle to the Legate Otho (quoted above), Epist. 49 — seemingly of an earlier period—Grostete writes: "Licet post meam consecrationem in Episcopum nepos Domini Papæ promotus sit in unâ de optimis præbendis in Lincolniensi Ecclesiâ." This could not be another nephew of Innocent; at the time of his nomination he must have been a boy indeed. Another writer (Ann. Burton) calls him puerulus.

[e] This letter is dated Perugia, Ann. Pontific. 10, 1252. It is in the Burton Annals, and in the Additamenta to Paris. In Rymer there is another quite different in its provisions. There the Pope asserts that he has made very few appointments. But Westminster adds to Paris: "Inventum est quod nunquam aliquis predecessorum suorum in triplo aliquos sui generis vel patriæ tot ditaverat." There is a strange clause in Innocent's letter, expressive of the wild times and the exasperation of the public mind: if a papal expectant should be murdered (si perimi contigerit, as if it were an usual occurrence), no one should be appointed who had not previously cleared himself of all concern in the murder.

despised in thy turn!". The Pope felt as if each word pierced him like a spear. From that night he was wasted by a slow fever. The hand of God was upon him. All his schemes failed, his armies were defeated, he passed neither day nor night undisturbed. Such was believed by a large part of Christendom to have been the end of Pope Innocent IV.[f]

[f] It is a significant fact that Grostête was never canonised. This honour was granted to the cloistral virtues of his predecessor, Hugh of Lincoln; to his contemporary, Edmund Rich of Canterbury. Edmund had ingloriously retired from his difficult post of primate; his timid piety despaired of reforming his clergy; he was embarrassed between the King and his Barons; between the King compelled to resist the exactions of the Pope, and the Pope whose demands Edmund would have gratified to the full. He took refuge in the retreat of Becket, Pontigny; but with nothing of Becket's character. Yet the mild prelate shared with Becket the honours of a saint. Grostête was canonised only by the reverence of his country. Even Paris after his death found out his virtues. Of these not the least was his opposition to the King and to Rome (fuit Domini Papæ et Regis redargutor manifestus; Romanorum malleus et contemptor); the instructor of the clergy, the support of scholars; the preacher of the people; persecutor only of the incontinent. At table he was liberal, plentiful, courteous, cheerful, and affable; in church, devout, tearful, penitent; as a prelate, sedulous, venerable, indefatigable.

END OF VOL. IV.

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